THE ENABLER: FACILITATING NEXT-SPEAKER SELECTION IN L2 GROUP ORAL ASSESSMENTS

REEM HASSANALI AL ABBAS

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Abstract

To support the academic and linguistic adjustment of international students using English as a second language (L2) in the UK, many universities provide access to pre-sessional English for Academic Purposes (EAP) courses. Despite this widespread use of group oral assessments in pre-sessional contexts in Europe and North America, much research on such assessments stems from Asian settings (e.g. Greer and Potter, 2008; Leyland *et al.*, 2016).

This study uses Conversation Analysis (CA) to examine the interactional unfolding of group oral assessments involving international students in a university-affiliated EAP institution in the UK. Data comprises of 19 video recorded group oral assessments, each lasting 3 to 4 minutes and involving 3 to 4 international students. To date, CA research on such assessments has identified various important interactional phenomena, such as the ways test-takers engage with peers' ideas (Z. Gan, 2010), test-takers' impression management (Luk, 2010) and language proficiency identities (Lazaraton and Davis, 2008).

The current study builds on this work and focuses on the under-examined issue of next-speaker selection; the ways test-takers manage the shift from one speaker to the next for extended turns. In particular, this study reveals the ways one test-taker adopts the role of 'enabler' by facilitating the shift from one speaker's extended turn to another speaker's extended turn. The enabler's work is required (i) when one test-taker struggles to select another speaker, (ii) when a test-taker struggles to select him/herself, and (iii) to select a thus-far quiet student who does not display recipiency. As these enabling actions are achieved through the manipulation of a series of vocal and embodied actions, the current study draws upon recent thinking in multimodality in interaction (e.g. Streeck *et al.*, 2011; Mondada, 2016).

The findings of this study contribute to research on interaction in group oral assessments by revealing the ways test-takers work to enable the successful distribution of extended turns of talk across participants. This study also adds to an important bridge between research on L2 testing and multimodality, highlighting the ways participants rely upon gaze, gesture and talk to ensure the selection of the next-primary-speaker.

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{And say: My Lord, Increase me in Knowledge}
[Surah Ta-Ha 20: 114]

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Setting the Scene

English is one of the fastest growing and most widely used languages around the world (Okada, 2010). As an international language, it is being taught globally in various educational settings, both within English-as-a-foreign language (EFL) and English-as-a-second language (ESL) contexts. With the English language being established as one of the central international languages in the world, there has been an increasing demand for second language (L2) learners of English to enhance their language proficiency. One purpose for enhancing learners' proficiency in English is to assist English L2 learners of attaining a higher education degree through the medium of English, while another purpose is to improve L2 learners' communicative ability, that is to become capable of interacting with expert users of English and other language learners from different linguistic, cultural and educational backgrounds (Okada, 2010; Fulcher, 2015).

As such, it has become an increasing practice for L2 learners to study in English-speaking countries to develop their English proficiency (Andrade, 2006; Storch, 2009). In addition, with the universities in English-speaking countries revealing an interest to admit large bodies of international students, the numbers of international students seeking enrollment in English-speaking higher education institutions has been rising significantly in the past few decades, while establishing the UK as the second most favorable destination in the world for international student study (Lillyman and Bennett, 2014; Taha and Cox, 2016). As international students contribute to the economic and educational growth of the English-speaking countries, it has become a priority for higher education institutions to identify the factors that challenge and promote international students' social and academic adjustments. To support international students in adjusting to the academic and linguistic requirements of higher education in English-speaking universities, such as the UK, many international students enroll on 'pre-sessional' and 'in-sessional' EAP (English for Academic Purposes) courses at university-affiliated language institutes (Andrade, 2006; Storch, 2009; T. Young and Schartner, 2014). Despite huge investments, there are relatively few empirical investigations into the assessment realities of such institutions.

One significant form of oral assessment that 'pre-sessional' EAP support courses are utilizing to assess the international L2 learners' linguistic and interactional capabilities are the group-oral-assessments[1]. In spite of the increased employment of group-oral-assessments in English-speaking university-affiliated language institutes in the UK and North America for the purpose of evaluating international L2 learners' linguistic and interactional competencies, and their ability to function successfully in a university academic degree program, there are minimal studies examining such contexts. Much research on group-oral-assessments was conducted in Asian settings with the field lacking research in international settings (e.g. Greer and Potter, 2008; Leyland *et al.*, 2016; Nakatsuhara, 2009) (See Section 2.5.3.2 for further details on the context of studies of L2 group-oral-assessments). As these language institutes provide a haven for international L2 learners to interact with other English language learners, it is important to gain an understanding of how co-participants from different linguistic, cultural and educational backgrounds interact with one another through the medium of English, including when situated into an assessment context. As such, this study contributes to an expanding small body of research employing Conversation Analysis (CA) as a methodology to examine the interactional realities of international L2 learners of English as they undertake a group oral assessment as part of an assessment requirement for a 'pre-sessional' academic support class within a UK university-affiliated language institute.

So far, within this opening section of the chapter, the focus has been on setting the scene for the importance of conducting the current study. Section 1.2 provides an overview of the research, including the relevance of CA as a methodology followed by the thesis organization in section 1.3.

[1] Group-oral-assessments are one form of speaking assessment INTO has adopted within its 'Academic English Courses' across its UK institutions, as personally confirmed by an Academic English course Manager since details relating to group-oral-assessments are not provided on INTOs University Partnership websites. See copy of oral assessment document, providing further confirmation of the wide usage of group-oral-assessments in INTOs varied institutions (pg. 82).

1.2 Research Overview

The current study adopts CA as a methodology to present a multimodal and micro-analytic analysis of L2 test-takers' talk-in-interaction during an assessed group oral discussion in a UK university-affiliated language institute for international students. The study draws on a data set of 19 video-recorded group-oral-assessments, each lasting 3 to 4 minutes and involving 3 to 4 international L2 learners in a UK 'pre-sessional' EAP support class for international L2 learners of English. One purpose for employing a CA methodology is related to the increasing call in SLA research to expand the parameters of examining social interaction research in educational-based settings (Firth and Wagner, 1997), with assessment settings being no exception.

While Firth and Wagner's (*ibid*) call has promoted an increased attention towards examining the interactional realities within educational-based settings, including language classrooms (e.g. Kaanta, 2010; Mortensen, 2008; Sert and Walsh, 2013) as well as some L2 assessment contexts, such as, oral proficiency interviews and paired-tests (e.g. Galaczi, 2014; Nitta and Nakatsuhara, 2014; Ross and Kasper, 2013; Seedhouse, 2012; Seedhouse and Nakatsuhara, 2018; R. Young and He, 1998), the interactional realities of group-oral-assessments continue to be considerably under researched in comparison to other forms of oral assessments employing a CA perspective (e.g. Greer and Potter, 2008; Leyland *et al*., 2016; Nakatsuhara, 2009; 2011). In addition, despite the increasing numbers of international student-interaction in English-speaking language institutes, group-oral-assessments have been primarily investigated within EFL contexts, where the L2 test-takers have a shared mother-tongue and hold similar cultural and educational backgrounds (e.g. Greer and Potter, 2008; Leyland *et al*., 2016; Nakatsuhara, 2009; Van Moere, 2007). As such, with the international ESL context remaining under researched, it is highly significant to investigate the interactional patterns that emerge from international L2 group-oral-assessments as they may reveal a different interactional practice to those of L2 test-takers within EFL contexts. Moreover, with Firth and Wagner (1997) arguing for the need to reveal the L2 learners' interactional capabilities and successes, and not to view them as being "interactional dopes" (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 58), this study adopts these lines of research to examine how L2 test-takers utilize their talk not for how language is constructed *per se*, but to examine talk as a social action, in terms of how the test-takers use their talk to "structure and coordinate their actions to produce a coherent interaction" (Garcia, 2013, p. 5-6).

On the other hand, it is also worth noting that via adopting a micro-analytic perspective, I was able to examine how the international L2 test-takers' talk is organized in relation to their social or institutional goals (Seedhouse, 2018) from an emic standpoint, allowing me to investigate the interactional practices that L2 test-takers employ to collaboratively manage and facilitate their next-speaker-selections during the L2 group-oral-assessment. Furthermore, by adopting a deeper appreciation to embodied interaction, the micro-analytic analysis allowed an examination of how the enabling actions of the test-takers are achieved through the interplay of vocal and embodied actions. To achieve an understanding of the ways test-takers manage the shift from one speaker to the next for extended turns, in particular, the ways one test-taker adopts the role of 'enabler' to facilitate the shift from one speaker's extended turn to another speaker's extended turn, the following questions are addressed:

1. When does a test-taker adopt the interactional role of an 'enabler'?
2. How does the 'enabler' achieve the facilitation of next-speaker selections?
3. How do other test-takers orient to such an interaction?

As such, the findings of this study not only contribute to the body of research examining group interaction and group-oral-assessment, but also via adopting a multimodal CA perspective to analyze the above addressed research questions I was able to examine how co-participants draw upon various multimodal resources such as gaze, gesture, body reconfigurations and talk to facilitate successful next-speaker-selections to a next-primary-speaker (e.g. Mondada, 2014; Mondada, 2016; Streeck *et al.*, 2011).

1.3 Thesis Organization

After having provided an introduction to the research context of the current study and outlined the methodological approach as well as its relevance to the current study, the subsequent chapter, Chapter 2 will provide a review of the literature related to the current study in relation to, international L2 learners' cultural and academic adjustments within English-speaking higher education institutions, the scope of SLA research, oral assessment research, multimodality and next-speaker selections, as well as pinpointing the research gaps the current study will address.

Chapter 3 follows by examining the methodological approach utilized within this study as well as providing its relevance as an approach to the current study. The chapter also presents the ethnomethodological foundations of Conversation Analysis followed by a description of CA's core interactional phenomena. The chapter also examines how CA assists in investigating multimodal interaction and its reliability and validity as a research method.

Chapter 4 presents a more detailed overview about the research setting followed by a description of the participants and then the data collection process and the ethical considerations that had to be met to conduct the study. The succeeding section provides details on the processes undertaken to transcribe the data and present it in its final format. The final section explains the analytic procedures adopted to conduct this study.

After the research design chapter, I provide three detailed analytic chapters, with the first analytic chapter focusing on how a test-taker adopts the interactional identity of an enabler to facilitate next-speaker-selections to assist a struggling other-selection through the display of three excerpts in Chapter 5. Then, Chapter 6 provides four further excerpts to demonstrate how an enabler assists struggling self-selections in gaining primary-speakership. Chapter 7 presents how a test-taker adopting the interactional identity of an enabler facilitates a speaker-transition to a thus-far quiet test-taker who does not display recipiency to ensure all test-takers gain a 'fair' opportunity to the floor and provide a speech sample for assessment.

Chapter 8 follows with a detailed discussion through relating the analytic findings to the relevant research. Four themes emerge during the discussion, (i) L2 learners' interactional successes in facilitating next-speaker-selections in institutional-based social interactions; (ii) multimodality as a resource for facilitating next-speaker-selections; (iii) expanding the group-oral-assessment research context; and (iv) comparing between the interactional identity of an 'enabler' and other adopted third-party identities attempting to facilitate next-speaker-transitions. The thesis is concluded with Chapter 9 which summarizes the findings, followed by an acknowledgment of its limitations as well as its contribution to varied bodies of research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter surveys the literature related to the fields of international students attending English-speaking universities, speaking assessment research, multimodality and next-speaker selections, which are of relevance to this study. Se0ction 2.2 provides an overview of the cultural and academic adjustment practices of international students in English-speaking countries. The following section 2.3 reviews the studies adopting a cognitive and perception-based approach to analyzing speaking assessment. The next section 2.4 reviews the theoretical approaches most widely employed in SLA literature, and argues for the importance of adopting a CA framework. This is followed by considerable attention paid to the oral assessment studies adopting a CA methodology in the areas of oral proficiency interviews (OPI), paired and group-oral-assessments (section 2.5). Then in section 2.6, I review the studies focusing on multimodality in terms of gaze (section 2.6.1), followed by gesture (section 2.6.2) and then the use of body posture (section 2.6.3). After the overview of studies related to the different embodied resources, the review then presents the studies examining multimodality in L2 learning and teaching contexts (section 2.7), followed by embodied research in L2 group-oral-assessments (section 2.8). Then the review investigates the field of next-speaker selection in (section 2.9), in relation to the tactics a current-speaker employs to select a next-speaker (section 2.9.1) and the tactics utilized to self-select (section 2.9.2). I then explore the studies examining next-speaker selection in L1 institutional contexts (section 2.10), followed by studies on speaker-selection in L2 institutional contexts (section 2.11) and then examining the studies exploring the turn-allocation practices adopted in L2 group-oral-assessments (section 2.12).

2.2 International Students in English-Speaking Universities

The numbers of international students studying at English-speaking countries has been increasing significantly in the past few decades, with the UK being the second most favorable destination in the world for international student study (Lillyman and Bennett, 2014; Taha and Cox, 2016). As international students contribute to the economic and educational growth of the English-speaking countries, it has become a priority for higher education institutions in host countries to

assist international students in gaining positive social and academic experiences within the host community (Andrade, 2006; Lillyman and Bennett, 2014; Taha and Cox, 2016). One means for establishing a positive atmosphere for the international students upon their arrival into the host community is through the host universities identifying the factors that challenge and promote international students' social and academic adjustments to create appropriate support services for the international student body (Andrade, 2006; Lee and Wesche, 2000). Host higher-education institutions in English-speaking countries as well as researchers have identified the adjustment challenges that international students face in the host community as being primarily academic and cultural (Andrade, 2006; Trice, 2003; Young and Schartner, 2014). To support international students in their cultural and academic adjustments, many higher education institutions in English-speaking countries provide support programs to international students to assist them in obtaining a more positive social/cultural experience and achieve their educational goals (Andrade, 2006).

A wide range of research investigating international students' adjustments centers on their cross-cultural experiences, mainly from the perceptions of "stress and coping or culture-learning" (Young and Schartner, 2014: 548). In other words, such research aims to gain an insight into the international students' levels of satisfaction with their adaptation and integration into the host country (Lewthwaite, 1996; Senyshyn *et al.*, 2000; Andrade, 2006). Although the findings about the socio-cultural adjustments of international students are varied, research reveals that international students in spite of receiving some social support are more prone to feeling lonely and homesick in comparison to domestic students (Hechanova-Alampay *et al.*, 2002; Rajapaksa and Dundes, 2002). In fact, international students generally display a lack of satisfaction with their social integration due to holding limited socio-cultural knowledge and prioritizing their academic life over engagement in social activities (Andrade, 2006; Lewthwaite, 1996). Nevertheless, despite enduring some stressful cross-cultural experiences, international students have remarked employing those experiences to their benefit, utilizing them as opportunities for learning to further enhance their socio-cultural knowledge (Andrade, 2006; Lewthwaite, 1996).

In addition to investigating international students' perceptions of their socio-cultural adjustments, researchers have also considered international students' academic adjustments. Research investigating international students' academic adjustments is generally set under two

categories: (1) research attempting to determine the factors promoting students' adjustments (2) research relating these factors to the students' academic accomplishments (Andrade, 2006). Unlike their cross-cultural experiences, international students revealed a relatively greater satisfaction with their ability to adjust academically (Lee and Wesche, 2000; Schutz and Richards, 2003; Senyshyn *et al.*, 2000). Yet, research identified that the main challenge delaying the international students' academic adjustment is their English language proficiency (Andrade, 2006; Robertson *et al.*, 2000; Trice, 2003). International students holding low English language proficiency reported feeling insecure about their language capabilities and attributed their lack of participation in classes to having low confidence and to their fear of making mistakes (Jacob and Greggo, 2001; Lewthwaite, 1996; Robertson *et al.*, 2000).

Nonetheless, to adjust to the academic requirements of the host universities, international students are encouraged to adapt to the teaching and learning styles of the English-speaking universities (Young and Schartner, 2014). To fulfill the demands of the new academic environment and to enhance their academic adjustment, international students report a need to learn and employ academic practices they are not accustomed to (Young and Schartner, 2014). Moreover, according to research by Lewthwaite (1996) and Mendelsohn, (2002), academic adjustment of international students is further enhanced by the strategies international students adopt to progress with their knowledge in the content area through enrolling in additional content-related classes, expanding their reading and improving their note-taking strategies. The university programs have also been reported to attribute to the international students' academic adjustments, through the course tutors and the small group seminars provided to the students (Andrade, 2006; Lewthwaite, 1996; Mendelsohn, 2002).

Although these studies deliver insightful details relating to the socio-cultural and academic challenges and achievements of international students at English-speaking universities, they nevertheless have adopted cognitive or perception-based methodologies to present their findings. The next section will provide a closer investigation into the studies examining the English L2 learners' oral proficiency and its means of assessment in higher education institutions.

2.3 Oral Assessments

The number of English L2 speakers has been increasing around the world (Okada, 2010). One reason is that people from different language backgrounds are having to interact with one another in various social contexts. The growth in international interaction has increased the demand for high English language proficiency users in various professions (Fulcher, 2015). With such a growing request, second language learners aiming to attain a higher academic degree may find themselves required to enroll into higher education language institutes to enhance their English language proficiency. To support L2 learners in developing their language proficiency, tests are commonly employed by the language institutes to measure and reveal the L2 learner's language abilities (Brown and Abeywickrama, 2010). Though, one important yet challenging form of assessment relates to the measurement of the L2 learners' oral proficiency (Fulcher, 2003; Sandlund *et al.*, 2016; R. F. Young, 2002). As assessments of L2 learners' oral proficiency are believed to be challenging for test writers as well as raters (McNamara, 1996), researchers have investigated numerous issues in relation to conducting oral assessments, such as: test tasks and prompts (e.g. Leaper and Riazi, 2014; Norris *et al*., 1998), effects of an interlocutor or examiner's support on a test-taker's performance (Brown, 2003; Lazaraton, 1996), effects of test-taker characteristics on other test-takers' performance, including factors as language proficiency, personality and familiarity (e.g. Berry, 2004; Bonk and Van Moere, 2004; Csépes, 2002; Davis, 2009; McNamara, 1997; Nakatsuhara, 2004; 2011; Ockey, 2009; O'Sullivan, 2002), oral assessment rating scales (e.g. Fulcher, 1996; North, 1995) and an examiniation of rater reliability and performance (Bachman *et al*., 1995; O'Sullivan, 2000; McNamara and Lumley, 1997; Van Moere, 2006).

Alternatively, with the expanding role of the communicative approach within language teaching, learning and assessment and due to the stakeholders' interest in enrolling candidates with a high communicative ability, oral proficiency tests have changed frequently over the years (Fulcher, 2003; Galaczi and Taylor, 2018). Rather than merely focusing on the L2's accuracy and fluency in speech, oral language tests have begun to be designed with an additional attention towards measuring learners' ability to express themselves and reveal interactional competence when interacting with another interlocutor or more (Plough, 2018). With the expanding viewpoint claiming that oral test providing greater opportunities for test-taker interaction to be more valid due

to test-takers having more opportunities for engagement (Bachman and Palmer, 1996; Z. Gan, 2010; Leung, 2008) in "real-life communicative practices" (Gan, 2010: 586), diverse oral proficiency tests claiming to provide such interactive opportunities for the test-takers were designed subsequently.

The oral tests varied from the number of interlocutors a test-taker would interact with to the format of the test. The variation depended upon the purpose of the test as well as the amount of resources available to the examining party. Oral tests ranged between interviews, known as oral proficiency interviews (OPI), paired-tests and group oral tests (Fulcher, 2003; Z. Gan, 2010; Kormos, 1999; Lazaraton, 1997; Leaper and Riazi, 2014; Okada, 2010; Sandlund *et al.*, 2016). With the variance in oral proficiency assessments and the increasing numbers of advocates for each test format, researchers also varied their methodological approaches to examine the validity of the tests and their ability to provide test-scores that display representative measurements of the learners' oral proficiency levels. In addition, different methodologies were incorporated to investigate to what extent real interaction-like opportunities are provided to the test-takers in the different oral test formats.

Through implementing cognitive and perception-based methodological approaches, as well as experimental studies and some interactional research (see Section 2.5 for CA-based studies examining L2 oral assessments), researchers examined issues such as the L2 test-takers' cognitive ability and explored its relationship with the test-takers' characteristics and test scores. The test-takers' characteristics, such as language proficiency, personality and familiarity with the other test-taker(s) and the impact each interlocutor feature has on the individual test-taker as well as on their group members' performance and test scores have attributed to a substantial amount of empirical research in oral proficiency assessments (Berry, 2004; Csépes, 2002; Nakatsuhara, 2004; Ockey, 2009). With the expanding viewpoint that the L2 test-takers' oral performance is regarded to be interactive, meaning that "it is difficult to consider the impact of test taker characteristics in isolation from those of interlocutors" (McNamara *et al.*, 2002, p. 228) a growing amount of studies examined the impact of the interlocutor's characteristics on the test-taker and vice versa in oral proficiency assessments. One of the early studies investigating the impact of the interlocutor's proficiency on the test-takers is Iwashita's (1998) study which involved English expert speakers

learning Japanese as a foreign language at a university in Australia. In the study, Iwashita mixed low and high-level proficiency dyads to examine whether there was an influence on the paired test-takers. Iwashita found that the high-level students and low-level students both obtained higher scores when paired with students with high proficiency levels. Iwashita also noted that the pairing of low-level students with the high-level students assisted the lower proficiency level students in producing more language output, though Iwashita confirmed that the increased production did not necessarily contribute to higher test scores. However, due to the mean score variations and the lack of examination for statistical significance, strong inferences may not be drawn from this study. On the other hand, Iwashita also investigated the impact of the familiarity variable on the test-takers. Based on data collected from a perception-based questionnaire, the analysis revealed that participants favored being examined with a classmate than with the expert interviewer as "performing tasks with a non-native rather than a native speaking interlocutor created a non-threatening environment and made the test taker feel more relaxed" (Iwashita, 1998, p. 62).

The proficiency variable was further examined by Csepes (2002), Nakatsuhara (2004), Davis (2009) and Bennett (2012) to investigate its impact on the paired interlocutors' performance. However, Bennett (2012) adopted a slightly different approach to examine the effect of the proficiency variable by first surveying the 43 Italian participants practicing for a Cambridge English paired exam for their perception on whether their scores would be impacted by their partners' proficiency level. The findings from the studies reached a general agreement in that there is no significant variance in the paired test-takers' scores when paired with interlocutors of varying proficiency levels as observed on a multifaceted Rasch analysis measure, which contradicts the findings of Iwashita (1998). Yet, as the analysis from Davis (2009) reveals, even though there is no significant influence on the test-takers' scores when paired with an interlocutor of any proficiency level, the lower proficiency participants produced 35% more language output when paired with higher proficiency participants, a finding that holds a similar pattern to the results obtained in Iwashita's (1998), Nakatsuhara (2004) and Norton's (2005) studies. These findings were further supported by Lazaraton and Davis (2008, p.330) as they state, "various manifestations of the interlocutor effect do not necessarily translate into increased or decreased ratings". Though, interlocutor characteristics such as the personality variable have been noted to probably have an impact on the paired and group test-takers' performance as Csepes (2002) notes to that may have influenced the participants' performance in the study with the personality variable not being

controlled. This has been confirmed in a previous research finding by Ikeda (1998, p.93) as it was emphasized in the study that there may be a "risk of pairing linguistically compatible learners who may be incompatible personality-wise".

The influence of the interlocutor's personality with a particular emphasis on examining the impact of an individual's extraversion level on the L2 test-takers' performance in both L2 pedagogy and oral language assessment has received a considerable amount of attention (Z. Gan and Davison, 2011). With the expanding belief that extroverts are more likely to outperform introverts in L2 communicative social activities, and Underhill (1987) revealing a concern for implementing paired and group-oral-assessments that do not involve an examiner's intercession displaying a fear that the examiners "will reward extrovert and talkative personalities rather than those who are less forthcoming". With such a view, there was an increase in the number of empirical studies investigating the impact of the personality variable on the test-takers' oral performance and their interlocutors in paired and group-oral-assessments (Berry 1993; 1997; 2004; Bonk and Van Moere, 2004; Z. Gan and Davison, 2011; Ockey, 2009). Through adopting an experimental design approach accompanied with a perception-based methodology of surveying participants for their personalities, Berry (2004) examined the participants' oral proficiency scores upon being grouped with other test-takers who were either considered as being extroverts or introverts as the scores from the Eysenck Personality Questionnaire revealed. Based on the statistical analysis obtained from the examiners' rating for the test-takers, the scores indicated that both introverts and extroverts obtained higher scores when grouped with other test-takers who held a higher mean level of extroversion. On the other hand, upon grouping introverts together, the test-takers achieved much lower scores.

To investigate the personality variable further, Ockey (2009) also followed a similar methodological approach to examine the impact of assertiveness, which is one of the facets of extroversion which reveals the amount of willingness an individual has to act as a group leader, on the test-takers' scores. The NEO-PI-R, a personality questionnaire was incorporated to categorize the participants into assertive and non-assertive individuals. The test-takers were further categorized according to their proficiency level based on the results obtained from the PhonePass SET-10 test and based on their familiarity with one another. Four different groupings were then

produced, mainly based on the assertiveness level of the test-takers. One form of grouping placed only assertive test-takers together, another had two or three assertive members and one non-assertive member, the third included one assertive member with two or three non-assertive, and the final category included all non-assertive members. A multi-variate statistical analysis was also administered to investigate the impact of assertiveness on the test-takers in each of the group types. In addition to the examiners' rating of each test-taker, the findings of the study revealed that the "personal characteristics of a test taker's group member can affect a test taker's score on the group oral" (Ockey, 2009, p. 178). According to Ockey, the assertive test-takers obtained higher scores when grouped with non-assertive test-takers, while their performance was reduced upon being grouped with other assertive members, a finding that contrasts with Berry's (2004) study.

Berry's (2004) results propose that both extrovert and introvert test-takers achieved higher scores when grouped with test-takers holding a high mean level of extroversion. Ockey (2009) speculated that either the test-takers had more opportunities to display their speech abilities with non-assertive members, a possibility that might not have been afforded within the mainly assertive groups, or that the examiners might have considered the assertiveness of the test-takers more positive when attempting to engage non-assertive test-takers into the discussion. The variance in these findings may also be attributed to the extent of rigidness in controlling each of the characteristic variables such as the test-takers' proficiency, personality and interlocutor familiarity, which were highly controlled in Ockey (2009), but not definite in Berry (2004), which may have attributed to the variance in the experimental design of the studies. O'Sullivan (2008) also conducted five experimentally designed studies to investigate the interlocutor characteristic effect on test-taker performance in interview and paired oral tests. The variables that were controlled for in the studies were the interlocutors' age, gender, acquaintanceship, personality type and actual or perceived linguistic ability, while attempting to isolate other variables. As the studies were experimental in their design, this "meant that only small populations could be dealt with, so reducing the generalizability of the findings" (O'Sullivan, 2008, p. 209). In other words, O'Sullivan's (2008) studies illustrate how difficult, if not impossible, it is to control for test-taker characteristics in paired or group oral tests.

The above reviewed empirical studies have enriched the field of L2 oral assessment with their findings on the relation between test-takers' proficiency, personality and interlocutor familiarity and their performance in the different test formats, the OPI, paired and group oral tests. In addition, the studies also displayed their findings on how examiners orient to and rate the different personality types of test-takers when grouped with other interlocutors holding different personality characteristics. The findings from these studies are not only interesting, but also have important implications for the paired and group test-taker organizers as they assist in achieving exam fairness for the diverse L2 test-taker body by not advantaging one test-taker over another through incorrect grouping. On the other hand, the review also reveals a lack in empirical studies examining the test-takers' turn-by-turn interactional features during paired and group L2 oral assessments. Although the above reviewed studies did not adhere to an interactional-based methodology due to holding a different focus, the field of L2 oral assessments can be enriched further with empirical studies investigating the detailed interactions emerging from the L2 test-takers' interactions during their L2 oral assessments. Studies adopting an interaction-based research within the field of L2 oral assessments will be examined further in section 2.5.

2.4 Enriching SLA Research

To date, SLA research has enriched the field with various important theories and findings. Yet, as Firth and Wagner (1997) propose, the greatest research focus within SLA tends to favor the investigation of the second language learners' cognition and "mentalistic orientations" (p. 285) over the L2 learners' "discourse and communication" (p.286). In other words, such a view has prompted the prioritization in view of the second language speaker as a 'nonnative speaker' or a 'learner', with an aim to investigate his/her linguistic knowledge (Gregg, 1993) and how s/he acquires language (Corder, 1973) over the view that s/he is a "participant-as-language-'user' in social interaction" (Firth and Wagner, 1997, p.286).

Furthermore, with the wide view within SLA research that the 'nonnative speaker' or L2 learner holds one main relevant social identity, that of being a learner over the view that an individual may have numerous simultaneously relevant social identities, such as being a friend, a teammate, a joke teller or even an overhearer has led to an increased emphasis in assuming that every learner or nonnative is a defective communicator (Wagner and Firth, 1997; 2007), which

contradicts Garfinkel's (1958, p. 58) view that L2 speakers are "not interactional dopes". Moreover, although some studies within SLA may adopt an *emic* perspective to represent their findings, many of those studies tend to focus on exhibiting the foreign language learner's "*linguistic deficiencies* and *communicative problems*" (Firth and Wagner, 1997, p. 288, stress in original) with an emphasis on displaying the difficulties that learners face rather than revealing their successes in communication. Contrarily, as there is a growing interest internationally to adopt the English language as a lingua franca amongst language learners from different linguistic, cultural and educational backgrounds, this adds to the significance in examining the communicative and social interaction between English L2 users in various social settings.

To enrich the field with varied findings, Firth and Wagner (1997) suggest that SLA researchers engage in studies that address (i) the contextual as well as the interactional features of language use, (ii) a need to expand the researchers' sensitivity to what the participants display as relevant – analyzing the data from an *emic* perspective. Finally, researchers are encouraged to vary the data collection types within the field. Such suggestions instigate current researchers examining the English L2 learner to expand the scope of their data collection to include more interactive encounters.

2.5 CA Studies Examining L2 Oral Assessments

One of the greatest concerns when employing L2 oral proficiency assessments is the test-taking contexts and if it influences the test-takers' talk and to what extent it represents natural talk (Greer and Potter, 2008). With the development of Conversation Analysis (CA) by Sacks *et al*. (1974), researchers examining the test-takers' talk in the various formats of L2 oral assessments either in oral proficiency interviews (OPIs), paired or multiparty group orals have begun to adopt CA as a methodology to reveal the different forms of talk-in-action as well as the turn-taking practices that arise from these oral test formats. Furthermore, it has been witnessed that adopting a CA approach assists in revealing the dynamic interactional processes between the test-takers and their various interlocutors as they collaboratively work to attain their communicative goals rather than primarily focusing on the outcomes of the assessment (Gan, 2010; Lazaraton, 2002). As such, a detailed analysis of the test-takers' talk may increase understanding of how language use is operationalized in the varied oral assessment format tasks (Brown, 2003; Gan, 2010; van Lier,

1989). Moreover, since CA provides researchers with a tool to examine the specifics of talk, holding knowledge about the interactional practices can assist both SLA researchers and examiners in recognizing how test-takers work to co-accomplish different actions, which may provide an enhanced understanding of the learners' academic needs (Greer and Potter, 2008).

According to Schegloff *et al*. (2002, p. 15)

> CA research can illuminate what is going on in particular interactional L2 assessment encounters, not only so as to monitor inter-rater reliability and potential contamination of oral proficiency scores by interaction with the examiner, but also to discover routine and unique communication practices through which participants co-construct the assessment format itself as well as the actions these practices accomplish.

In other words, rather than assuming that an individual is or is not competent in a language, a CA methodological approach provides the researcher or educational practitioner with the tools to examine "the ways in which such competence is constructed in particular circumstances by the participants involved" (Richards, 2005, p. 6). The next sections will provide a closer investigation into the studies adopting a Conversation Analytic perspective to examine the L2 test-takers' talk-in-action in OPIs, paired and group-oral-assessments.

2.5.1 *CA Studies Examining Oral Proficiency Interviews (OPI)*

One of the most commonly used forms of oral proficiency tests are the OPIs. Some educational institutions continue to adopt OPIs as an assessment tool due to considering OPIs a standardized form of oral testing, as it involves the interaction between a native, or a language expert as an examiner and a test-taker (Sandlund *et al*., 2016; Swender, 2003), such as those provided by the IELTS Speaking Test (ISTs) (see Seedhouse, 2012; Seedhouse and Nakatsuhara, 2018). In addition, OPI tests are commonly being utilized as a form of oral assessment due to being considered a significant assessment tool that can reveal a test-taker's oral proficiency and communicative competence (van Lier, 1989).

The wide usage of OPIs has influenced a proportion of the research studies on L2 oral testing to focus on the interactional relationship between the examiner and test-taker from various

viewpoints (Ross and Kasper, 2013; Young and He, 1998). Adopting a CA approach, research has either concentrated on examining how the interviewer, being a native or language expert, addresses the test-taker with the task (Kasper, 2013), constructs their questions to prompt the test-taker (Brown, 2003) or manages misunderstandings when they occur through the employment of repair (Kasper and Ross, 2007). Another research strand tends to concentrate on the test-taker, through examining how the test-takers develop and extend their topics under discussion (Seedhouse and Harris, 2011; Seedhouse, 2012; Seedhouse and Nakatsuhara, 2018). Yet, other research has investigated to what extent the interaction between the examiner/interviewer and test-taker reflects a natural occurring conversation (Fulcher, 2003; Okada, 2010; Sandlund *et al*., 2016). According to Young and He (1998), although the turn-taking and repair systems in OPIs differ from mundane conversation, they nevertheless provide participants with an institutional goal-oriented interaction which is similar to the interactional properties in interviews (Drew and Heritage, 1992). In spite of some researchers' claims that OPI tests are valuable and represent real-life interaction (Cubillos, 2010; Kenyon and Malabonga, 2001), other researchers conclude that oral proficiency interviews have no resemblance to a natural conversation as a result of the asymmetric power relationship between the test-taker and the examiner (McNamara, Hill and May, 2002; Young, 2002) in that the order of the turns as well as their length tend to be vastly predictable and fixed which may distort the validity of the OPI tests (Green, 2014; Sandlund *et al*., 2016; van Lier, 1989).

2.5.2 *CA Studies Examining Paired Oral Tests*

Through time, paired oral tests began to grow in popularity in both the classroom and assessment-based contexts (Galaczi, 2014). In assessment contexts, paired oral test formats are currently being employed in both high as well as low-stakes tests such as in the Cambridge ESOL Main Suite Examinations and the Hong Kong Advanced/Supplementary Level Examination, to "assess test-takers' communicative abilities including initiating and maintaining interactions" (Nitta and Nakatsuhara, 2014, p. 149). On the other hand, within the classrooms, paired oral tests display a convenience in testing extra numbers of students especially within classes that have limited time and resources. The lack of the physical presence of an examiner has also encouraged CA researchers to investigate the interaction that takes place between the paired test-takers as the test format seems to provide test-takers with a relatively simpler turn-allocation system than the

OPIs (Sacks *et al*., 1974) and more naturally occurring conversational opportunities (Fulcher, 2003; Ducasse and Brown, 2009; Okada, 2010; Sandlund *et al*., 2016).

The expanding view that communicative language ability does not only reside within the L2 learner, but that it is socially and jointly constructed with other participants has increased the notion of 'interactional competence', first devised by Kramsch (1986) and encouraged a wider incorporation of paired and group oral tasks in both the language classroom and L2 oral assessment contexts (Galaczi, 2014; Young, 2000). With interactional competence (IC) gaining substantial attention within the field of speaking assessment research and practice (Nakatsuhara *et al*., 2018) an opportunity was provided to develop the IC construct and establish a wide-ranging definition that encompasses its multifaceted nature in relation to L2 oral assessments (Galaczi and Taylor, 2018). Galaczi and Taylor (2018, p. 226) defined the construct of interactional competence as:

> the ability to co-construct interaction in a purposeful and meaningful way, taking into account sociocultural and pragmatic dimensions of the speech situation and event. This ability is supported by the linguistic and other resources that speakers and listeners leverage at a microlevel of the interaction, namely, aspects of *topic management*, *turn management*, *interactive listening*, *break-down repair* and *non-verbal* or *visual behaviours* (stress in original).

These microlevel, interactional aspects have so far accommodated some microfeatures within their definition of L2 speakers' interactional competence, such as: closings, shifting, extending and initiation under *topic management*, maintaining, ending, starting and pausing, latching or interrupting under *turn management*, backchanneling, continuers and comprehension check under *interactive listening*, joint utterance creation, recasts, and self- or other-repair under *breakdown repair*, and eye contact, facial expression, laughter and posture under *non-verbal behavior*. Despite the definition's accommodation to these microfeatures for interactional competence, the definition is able to acknowledge further microfeatures under each interactional skill once an empirical confirmation has been made, approving their relevance (Galaczi and Taylor, 2018). Thus, as interactional competence may be "distributed across participants and varies in different interactional practices" (Young, 2011, p. 430), its definition needs to reflect that dynamic interaction.

Nevertheless, upon comparing the interactional dynamics of paired oral tests to OPIs, Brooks (2009) found that paired tests increased the interaction between the test-takers as well as encouraging expanded negotiations of meaning. Although paired tests seem to have a relatively more positive view than OPIs (Birjandi, 2011), with the interlocutors' role being considered of importance in the development of the interaction, findings on this account have led to contradicting results. Some studies revealed more positive results related to the test-takers' joint spoken product and the impact the interaction has on the test-takers scores, while others disclosed that there is a negative influence (Fulcher, 2003; Galaczi, 2008; Sandlund and Sundqvist, 2011).

On her part, Galaczi's (2004; 2008) studies investigated the interactional patterns that arise between the paired test-takers of varying proficiency levels. The findings from Galaczi's studies revealed that the test-takers engaged together via three primary interactional patterns, the *collaborative*, *parallel* and *asymmetric*, however when pairs incorporated more than one pattern simultaneously that was referred to as a *blend*. The analysis also revealed that the patterns were distinguishable with regards to their mutuality, equality and conversational dominance. In other words, when test-takers engaged in collaborative interactions they tended to display high mutuality in expanding the topic as well as revealing high equality in terms of topic initiation and amount of talk. Whereas the parallel interactional patterns produced more "solo vs. solo" interactions between the paired test-takers in that even when test-takers engage in initiating their topics and developing them, they nevertheless failed to expand the other test-taker's initiated topics, revealing the interaction to be of high equality, yet low mutuality. Contrarily, the asymmetric interactional patterns involved paired test-takers who either held a dominating role or a passive one. Upon relating between the test-takers' interactional patterns within the paired tests and their attributed scores, it was found that the pairs who engaged more collaboratively were considered to have higher proficiency levels whereas pairs that exhibited parallel interactions were viewed to be on the lower end of the rating spectrum. Galaczi (2008) proposed that the results can be utilized to further enhance the subscale rating descriptors related to interactive communication

.

In Galaczi's (2014) study which also incorporated a microanalytic approach to compare between the interactional competence of lower and higher-ability paired test-takers, Galaczi examined the interactional features that were more salient by paired test-takers at the different

proficiency levels. The findings revealed that the more proficient pairs interacted more collaboratively to initiate and develop a topic, including producing more joint discourses, managed the turn-taking more skillfully amongst each other and displayed greater listenership support through backchanneling and confirming understanding. Galaczi (2014) advised that the findings from her study promote a need to expand the underlying notion of interactional competence in both the classroom and context-based settings to comprise "not just interactional features such as topic development organization, but also listener support strategies and turn-taking management" (Galaczi, 2014, p. 553).

On a similar note, in her study, Nakatsuhara (2004) compared between the scores attributed to the test-takers when paired with higher, same and lower-proficiency level test-takers. Through adopting a CA methodology, Nakatsuhara (2004) was able to examine the discourse of the paired test-takers when interacting with the different proficiency level combinations. Nakatsuhara discovered that the interaction between the varying proficiency pairs had minimal influence on the conversation type produced and that the interaction had roused a comparable quantity of asymmetric interactional features as test-takers "were likely to obtain rather identical opportunities to display their communicative abilities with the use of similar conversational styles" despite the proficiency level of the test-taker they were paired with. This was because paired test-takers were likely to support one another which contributed to them displaying accommodating behavior that emerged a balanced language discourse in the data. Nevertheless, the findings also revealed that upon pairing higher and lower proficiency test-takers, the higher proficiency test-takers tended to produce more talk and initiate extra topics.

Lazaraton and Davis (2008) also adopted the CA conventions in their study. Though via working backwards, the authors recognized the discourse features that test-takers produced to demonstrate being proficient and matched them with their attributed scores and analytic ratings. The analysis of the turn-by-turn interaction revealed that the paired discussion tasks support paired test-takers in establishing themselves as being *proficient*, *interactive*, *supportive* or *assertive*. According to Lazaraton and Davis (2008, p. 329), such findings display that "language proficiency identity may be locally constructed, mediated, and displayed by the test takers in their task talk". In other words, the authors claim that a test-taker's proficiency level is 'fluid', and that it may

change from one turn to another depending upon one's interlocutor and the type of identity(ies) the test-takers incorporate into the interaction.

Other studies investigating the interaction between the pairs followed via investigating the influence of preparation time on the test-takers' and whether and how it influences the interactional patterns between the paired test-takers (Nitta and Nakatsuhara, 2014). Upon adopting a CA approach to investigate the interaction between the paired test-takers, the findings revealed that the test-takers ability to interact collaboratively may be reduced upon being allocated preparation time prior to conducting the task (Nitta and Nakatsuhara, 2014).

Alternatively, Sandlund and Sundqvist (2011) examined how paired test-takers manage the interactional troubles that arise in relation to conducting their English language test task. Through adopting a CA methodology to analyze the interaction, it appeared that some of the management strategies adopted by the test-takers were scored as less favorable, such as the abandonment of a task or negotiating understanding of the task, although such strategies deemed to be productive for the test-takers with regards to 'test-wiseness' (Sandlund and Sundqvist, 2011; also see Bachman 1990; Brown and Abeywickrama, 2010).

2.5.3 *Examining L2 Group Oral Assessments*

Recently, there has been a growing trend to research the interaction that takes place in group-oral-assessments due to its increased employment in L2 pedagogy and assessment-based contexts. Although group-oral-assessments have been introduced as an alternative to the OPI test (Berkoff, 1985; Luk, 2010), and despite the growing interest to incorporate the format in school and university L2 settings (Greer and Potter, 2008; Hilsdon, 1991; Sandlund and Sundqvist, 2011) the group test format nevertheless remains less researched in comparison to the OPI tests (Fulcher, 2003; Sandlund *et al*., 2016). Some of the initial advocates encouraging the use of group-oral-assessment discussions were Folland and Robertson (1976). According to Berkoff (1985, p. 95) group oral discussion formats assist learners in overcoming the problems that may arise as a result of an "artificial conversation" that takes place between a "distant examiner and a nervous examinee". Generally, groups for oral assessment comprise three or four second language test-

takers, though up to seven test-takers may be examined in one session (Bonk and Ockey, 2003; Folland and Robertson, 1976), with the presence of up to two examiners, who may or may not participate with the test-takers during the oral test (Green, 2014; Greer and Potter, 2008; Leyland *et al*., 2016; Nakatsuhara, 2011; Ockey, 2009). The oral proficiency assessment is carried out as second language test-takers interact with their group members, during which examiners rate each member on their oral ability (Fulcher, 2003; Nakatsuhara, 2011; Ockey, 2009; Sandlund *et al*., 2016).

As in paired tests, group-oral-assessments are viewed as providing L2 test-takers with a richer platform for revealing communicative ability (Brooks, 2009; Nakatsuhara, 2009; Van Moere, 2007). The format of the group oral tests is claimed to provide various benefits to the educational institutions as well as the test-takers. In addition to the varied language functions test-takers can produce in group oral tests as a comparison to OPI tests (Nakatsuhara, 2009; Van Moere, 2007), group oral tests also present a more practical tactic for testing in contexts with limited pedagogic resources (Nakatsuhara, 2011). One encouraging practical reason is that up to seven test-takers could be assessed at the same time, making it convenient for institutions with limited numbers of examiners. Also, examiners do not require extensive training in conducting interviews as OPIs require minimal interaction between the examiner and test-takers in group oral tests (Nakatsuhara, 2011; Ockey, 2009). Furthermore, group oral tests are viewed as providing potential "positive washback for communicative classrooms" (Ockey, 2009: 162). This is because group oral tests intend to provide second language test-takers with authentic tasks, those they may encounter in the real world or through classroom discussions (Ockey, 2009). With such a convenient testing format, educators can implement communicative practices in their teaching through engaging L2 learners in various group discussions (Nakatsuhara, 2011; Ockey, 2009).

Nonetheless, it could be argued that although a group oral proficiency assessment may not necessarily be capable of completely mirroring a natural conversation (Johnson and Tyler, 1998), this may not essentially be a drawback as it has been claimed that not all mundane conversation is constructed with constructive features (Simpson, 2006), such as when the talk being held is unmotivated or is carried on without the participants holding a clear practical initiative (Eggins and Slade, 1997). On the other hand, group-oral-assessments have been specifically designed to

provide the L2 test-takers with the opportunity to display their language proficiency and elicit their interaction within the group (Nakatsuhara, 2009; Simpson, 2006). With such a view, studies have compared the interaction that occurs amongst group members of a high proficiency level with the interaction occurring between members of a lower proficiency level (Gan, 2010). In addition, other studies have tackled the influence the number of test-takers has on the amount of interaction in group oral tests, mainly comparing between groups of 3 or 4 test-takers (Nakatsuhara, 2011).

Alternatively, it has also been argued that group-oral-assessment formats that do not involve an examiner in the interaction may instigate L2 test-takers to display similar interaction and language usage to what they would produce within the language classroom (Greer and Potter, 2008). Moreover, the lack of examiner involvement may provide test-takers within group-oral-assessment formats with an opportunity to co-construct, display and mediate their language proficiency identities within the assessment context (Lazaraton and Davis, 2008). As group-oral-assessments have been purposefully conducted to elicit and assess L2 test-takers' speech samples, various tasks and prompts have been devised to elicit interaction between group members. One means is through having test-takers discuss an allocated topic (Ockey, 2009), which may be presented to the test-takers in various forms, depending on the institutional or examiners' interest. Forms of eliciting the topic may be through presenting a short-written prompt to test-takers (Bonk and Ockey, 2003; Leaper and Riazi, 2014), or by presenting the topic on a topic card (Sandlund and Sundqvist, 2013) or as a picture (Hasselgren, 2000). Group-oral-assessments, in spite of the elicitation prompts being employed are viewed as providing test-takers with extended opportunities to engage in "symmetrical interaction that involves more complex cognitive and strategic processes, and that elicits richer language functions" (Nakatsuhara, 2009).

2.5.3.1 *CA Studies on L2 Group Oral Assessments*

To enhance understanding of the discourse and the interactional features that emerge from L2 group-oral-assessments, some empirical studies have adopted a CA methodology to examine and explicate what test-takers notice or orient to in the L2 group-oral-assessments. Studies adopting a microanalytic approach to explore the test-takers' discourse and interactions in L2 group-oral-assessments may be categorized under two main research interests: (i) studies examining the relationship between the effect of the interlocutor's varied variables and the impact

of those variables on the test-takers' performance and discourse (Gan, 2010; Nakatsuhara, 2009; 2011; Sandlund and Sundqvist, 2011), and (ii) studies investigating the unique interactional features that emerge from L2 group-oral-assessment encounters (Gan *et al*., 2009; Greer and Potter, 2008; He and Dai, 2006; Leyland *et al*., 2016; Luk, 2010), which remain considerably less researched in comparison to the studies on OPI test interactions (Luk, 2010; Sandlund *et al*., 2016). As the CA approach is particularly suitable for examining the interactional patterns that emerge from group-oral-assessments and how the sequential developments unfold within the group-oral-assessment discussions, this section will review studies that have adopted CA into their methodology to analyze the talk-in-action in the L2 group-oral-assessments, presenting their findings from an *emic* perspective.

Gan *et al*., (2009) examined how L2 test-takers introduce and negotiate topics in group-oral-assessment discussions. The analysis was based on a video recording of one group consisting of 4 Cantonese-speaking high-school students learning English as a second language in Hong Kong. Although the original data bank examined over 500 ESL test-takers, the authors considered the group under investigation to be representative of the assessment components the school was attempting to achieve. Prior to the assessment task, the participants had viewed the film *Forrest Gump*, and their task was to 'choose a gift for the main character', which lasted eight minutes. The analysis was based on the interaction that took place in two excerpts which illustrate how the test-takers organized topical talk during assessed group discussions. The findings revealed that the topical organization amongst the test-takers exhibited some features that were similar to those found in ordinary conversation as well as others that were institutionally relevant. In addition, the analysis exhibited how the test-takers engaging in the assessed group discussions had to constantly monitor their group members' talk to relate the content of their talk to their interlocutors' talk as well as to maintain relevance to the original agenda of the task. In other words, the findings suggest that test-takers may benefit from engaging in group-oral-assessments as they may offer the test-takers with opportunities to exhibit 'real-life' interactional competences.

Another study investigating the interactional practices in group-oral-assessments is Leyland *et al*. (2016). This study employed a longitudinal microanalytic approach to investigate the strategies that one novice teaching assistant (TA) adopted to adjust her interactional practices by

adapting her turn design from one conversational group to another as she attempted to encourage the test-takers to expand the topic under discussion. The analysis was based on video recordings of 18 groups comprising 3 or 4 test-takers enrolled in an elective academic English discussion course in a university in Japan. The data focused on the third and fourth tests administered during the course during which the course instructor requested the TA to join the assessed discussions to generate additional speech samples from the test-takers during the group-oral-assessments. The analysis demonstrated how the TA attempted to encourage further speech via playing a devil's advocate, summarizing prior talk and directing questions to the test-takers, only to realize that these tactics are not sufficient in initiating additional sequences. The findings further revealed how the TA adjusted her interactional practices through adapting her rhetorical discourse from playing a devil's advocate to simply aligning with the test-takers via providing a stand-alone response to the written prompt. The analysis revealed that such an adaptation encouraged test-takers to elaborate further on their previous talk after her talk, unlike when she played a devil's advocate. One reason the authors attribute to playing a devil's advocate's lack of success with the novice Japanese learners is that it is "not a common interactional strategy in Japanese discourse" (Leyland *et al*., 2016) and that the test-takers might have situated the TA's attempt to provoke their further talk as her holding an oppositional stance to theirs, and therefore, presenting a genuine disagreement. Although the test-takers' discourse remained relatively as 'monologues' despite the TA's discourse adaptation, it nevertheless succeeded in instigating the test-takers to provide significant follow-up turns on their previous talk during the assessed group oral discussions.

Nakatsuhara (2009) is another study that examined whether there is variance in how test-takers co-construct their interaction in group-oral-assessments based on their personalities and oral proficiency levels. To obtain the findings, the author utilized a mixed-method approach, incorporating Conversation Analysis to interpret and explain the statistical findings. To obtain the results, the interaction of 269 high-school students were analyzed as they conducted a group oral test in groups of 3 or 4 test-takers. Although the test-takers had the freedom to select their group members, one finding revealed that the interactional patterns varied depending on the extraversion levels of the interacting test-takers as well as on their group size. Nakatsuhara (2009) found that test-takers in groups of three were more likely to have a collaborative interaction, in which test-takers jointly construct their ideas than in groups of four. The analysis also revealed that test-takers in groups of four tended to manage their turn-taking in a mechanical or unnatural manner, usually

adopting a pre-determined order in relation to their seating arrangement. Luk (2010) had also discovered a similar interactional pattern in her mixed approach study to investigate the turn-taking practices of 43 female EFL students in Hong Kong. The results revealed that the test-takers, specially in the beginning of their talk followed what Luk (2010) refers to as an 'orderly turn-taking practice', in which the turns were arranged amongst the test-takers in a clockwise or anticlockwise manner. Yet, in the few events when a test-taker spoke in overlap with another test-taker, both parties would stop and apologize to one another, as well as producing smiles revealing embarrassment.

On the other hand, Greer and Potter (2008) adopted a straight CA approach to examine EFL learners' interaction in group-oral-assessment discussions. One primary focus of the study was to investigate how test-takers managed the turn-taking amongst them via utilizing questions such as 'How about you?'. The analysis was based on video recordings of 39 beginner-level undergraduate students in a university in Japan. All test-takers were grouped randomly from four different classes to form a group of four unfamiliar participants and were assessed by an examiner other than their teacher. The test-takers' seating was arranged by the examiner so that they sit across from one other. The test-takers were assigned a topic, which was one of six topics the students had previously come across in their classes, and their task was to discuss the topic freely together without the intervention of the examiner. The test-takers had also been made aware of the assessment criteria and the categories they were being assessed on prior to this final assessment. The analysis disclosed how questions that may seem simple such as 'How about you?' actually signified a sophistication in the test-takers' interactional achievements in that the utilized questions not only have an "indexical referential element" but also an "addressee-determining element" as they are also accompanied with embodiment (Greer and Potter, 2008, p. 297). In other words, 'How about you' not only functions to select a next speaker in the assessed discussion, but it also has a sequential order, in that it acts to reference a "sequence-initiating action", implying to the selected speaker that their next turn is to hold some relation with topic under discussion (Greer and Potter, 2008, p. 303). The study demonstrated that although turn-taking management may be challenging in assessed multiparty interaction, the test-takers' ability to skillfully manage the interaction between the group of test-takers actually reflects the interactional competence of the test-takers.

The above reviewed studies have adopted a CA framework to either examine the interactional patterns that emerge from group-oral-assessments or investigate how topics are sequentially developed within the group-oral-assessments. Through adhering to an *emic* viewpoint which distinguishes the CA methodology from other frameworks, the studies revealed the test-takers' 'real-life' interactional capabilities through their talk-in-action. In spite of the increased understanding these studies provide about the interactional realities of group-oral-assessments, further research is needed to comprehend how test-takers succeed in overcoming instances of interactional complexities.

2.5.3.2 *Context of Studies on L2 Group Oral Assessments*

Another point to make from the review of the studies on L2 group oral testing is that despite the methodological approach a researcher employs to obtain his/her findings, via adopting what Heap (1997) refers to as a "straight-ahead CA" methodology, or a CA methodology combined with an additional framework to display the interactional patterns or the discourse of L2 test-takers in group-oral-assessments, many of these studies have obtained their data from Asian contexts, mainly Japan or China or other non-English speaking countries (see Gan, 2010; Gan and Davison, 2011; Greer and Potter, 2008; Leyland *et al*., 2016; 2011; Luk, 2010; Nakatsuhara, 2009; Sandlund and Sundqvist, 2011; Van Moere, 2007). It may be noted that a substantial number of these studies have based their analysis on participants who are monolingual, of a similar age group, have had similar educational backgrounds in school and are learning English as a foreign language. Although a considerable number of the studies provide important and significant findings about the interactional nature of EFL test-takers in group-oral-assessments, it is also important to examine the interactional realities from a variety of contexts. One context that has received minimal attention relates to the English second language learners from multilingual, multi-cultural and multi-educational backgrounds engaging together as international students in English speaking countries. This is significant because there is an increase in the number of international students attending English speaking universities (Lillyman and Bennett, 2014). Furthermore, this context is increasing in significance as there is a growing interest in English language institutes offering academic English courses to international students to incorporate group oral discussions in both the pedagogic and assessment-based settings to enhance and assess the proficiency of international students (Galaczi, 2014).

2.5.3.3 *Expanding the Scope of CA Research on L2 Group Oral Assessments*

Another important note to be made about the research examining the interactional realities in L2 group-oral-assessments is that to date, the greatest focus has been placed on investigating the test-takers' discourse and talk in organizing the interaction amongst the test-takers. However, with CA expanding its appreciation of the multitude of resources that participants may rely on in organizing their social interactions, such as gaze, gesture and body posture, there has been a growing turn to investigate how multimodality through the interplay of talk can achieve social interaction in varied contexts, including the institutional settings (Hazel *et al*., 2014; Streeck *et al*., 2011).

2.6 Conversation Analysis and Multimodality Research

With Conversation Analysis being established as a methodology holding an interest in researching how participants organize their social interaction, it has become widely adopted in the field of social sciences (Atkinson and Heritage, 1984; Hazel *et al*., 2014; Levinson, 1983). Although the initial focus of CA was on examining how participants manage and organize their social interaction through talk, currently, various studies are examining the way understanding is being demonstrated through the mutual orientation of the participants' visual displays of their body, via gaze, gesture and body posture in face-to-face interaction (Goodwin, 2007; Hazel *et al*. 2014; Homke *et al*., 2017; Mondada, 2007; 2009; Streeck *et al*., 2011). This move was further supported with the technological advancement with video cameras becoming more accessible for researchers, making it more convenient to gain visual data of naturally occurring interaction (Mondada, 2008; Streeck *et al*., 2011). In addition, the mass storage devices currently available to the researchers have privileged embodied research, encouraging CA studies to further examine the interplay between the bodily-visual modalities in talk-in-interaction. In fact, video usage has encouraged researchers to investigate the interactional activities occurring in various contexts, such as the institutional settings (e.g., Goodwin, 2007; Hazel and Mortensen, 2014; Heath and Luff, 2013; Ford and Stickle, 2012; Mondada, 2011; 2013), common everyday contexts (Lauier, 2008; Mondada, 2009) as well as L2 educational settings (Lauzon and Berger, 2015; Leyland, 2018; Markee and Kunitz, 2013; Mortensen, 2008; Satar and Wigham, 2017).

In addition to the expanding interest to research multimodal interaction, Mondada's (2014) multimodal transcription conventions (see Appendix A) have also significantly attributed to researchers being able to annotate the embodied actions of gaze, gesture, and various body postures and movements as they occur simultaneously with talk or without talk into their transcripts; which this study has also adopted. Recent CA studies examining how embodiment is utilized during face-to-face interaction have generally focused on three main areas, investigating the role of gaze direction, as well as the participants' gestures and body posture during talk-in-interaction, with some studies exploring a combination of these multiple modalities and their role in facilitating face-to-face interaction, as this CA study also employs. The following sub-sections will provide a review of the CA literature contributing to each of these modality types.

2.6.1 *Gaze*

Numerous studies in early CA research, mainly those investigating the interactions in English and European languages, have recognized that gaze has a role in revealing how participants demonstrate an attentiveness to a current speaker (Argyle and Graham, 1976; Gullberg and Holmqvist, 2006; Rossano, 2013). This interest rose mainly due to the amount of time participants devote to observing one another during a face-to-face interaction. Goodwin's (1981) study focused on displaying how a recipient's gaze direction during an interaction influences the speaker's linguistic progress during their turn-at-talk. The study further reveals that upon noticing a slight gaze disengagement from the recipient, a speaker may attempt to attract the recipient's attention to secure a turn-at-talk via modifying their turn beginnings. This may be through pausing their talk, producing hesitations and even restarting their talk to maintain their turn-at-talk. On the other hand, the study also revealed that a recipient may shift their gaze away from the speaker when they project that the speaker is reaching a near completion with their turn. Such findings demonstrate that the role of a recipient's gaze not only influences how a speaker may grammatically construct their turn, but it also attributes to how participants organize their turn-taking during an interaction (Goodwin, 1980; 1981; Hazel and Mortensen, 2014). This has been established in the myriad studies exploring the relationship between the participants' role in a face-to-face interaction and their gaze, and where the interaction stands in relation to the participation framework, developed by Goodwin (1980; 1981) (Heath, 1984; Lerner, 1996; 2003; Mondada, 2009 Rossano, 2013).

According to Goodwin (1981), there are two rules which reveal the distribution of gaze behavior between a speaker and a recipient during a face-to-face interaction:

1. A speaker should gaze at his/her gazing recipient during his/her at talk, but the speaker does not need to maintain continuous gaze during the talk.
2. A recipient should maintain gaze at the speaker when the speaker is gazing at the recipient.

Although it is implicitly proposed that these gaze behavior rules are autonomous of attributes such as an individuals' race, culture or gender, there are studies that argue that gaze orientations may vary depending on the participants' racial and cultural backgrounds. For example, there are studies arguing that African-Americans are more likely to look towards their recipient when they are speaking, while White-Americans tend to adopt a different pattern, maintaining their gaze towards the speaker as they are listening (Erickson, 1979; LaFrance, 1974; LaFrance and Mayo, 1976). Even though such variance may be due to the cultural norms of the participants, they may also be attributed to the social actions the participants are engaging in as they hold their talk (Stivers *et al*., 2009). Moreover, according to Rossano (2012) the co-participants' gaze behavior may be influenced by the type of activities they are engaged within during the interaction, as well as the gaze expectations that are attributed to action being conducted. For instance, if a speaker is performing an extended telling, then this requires the recipient to maintain their gaze for an extended period of time towards the speaker, whereas in the event a speaker is directing a question to the recipient, then this entails that the speaker preserve a more sustained gaze direction towards the recipient (Rossano, 2012; 2013). This is further supported by Levinson (2013) and Robinson (2013), in which they argue that co-participants hold varying gaze behavior depending on the type of turn-taking practices being administered in the interaction. If participants are engaging in extended multi-unit turns, then the recipient is anticipated to sustain their gaze towards the speaker from the beginning of the telling. On the other hand, if the co-participants are engaging in a turn-by-turn talk, as in a question-answer sequence, then the recipients' gaze is not required. The categorization provided by Rossano (2010; 2012), Levinson (2013) and Robinson's (2013) studies about the different types of addressed recipients in relation to their gaze distributions provides researchers and viewers onto a conversation with a more detailed understanding of the type of social interaction taking place, as well as the turn-taking mechanisms being adopted between the participants.

2.6.2 *Gesture*

Gesture and how it interplays with talk have been considerably researched within the field of psychology, mainly through examining an individual's mental processes (Mortensen, 2012). McNeill (1992) has contributed significantly to this area of research, not only via defining gestures as communicative movements produced by the head, such as nodding or produced by the hand, as well as the torso, but also through providing a fine-tuned description of the three distinct phases of gesture, its preparation phase, the stroke and then the retraction phase. Conversation Analysis has also provided similar descriptors for the different phases of gesture, though the emphasis of CA tends to be on revealing the interactional functions achieved during a conversation (Sacks and Schegloff, 2002). Goodwin (1986) proposed that the human body, in addition to the individual's hands have an ability to provide various nonverbal details about the talk-in-progress, in addition to providing the body with its needs, such as itching or having a drink, which have no relation to the talk-in-progress. Analysis from experimental CA studies of face-to-face interaction revealed that participants tend to orient to the gestural information and process it in integration with the speaker's talk (Holler *et al*., 2017; Kelly *et al*., 2015). This assisted in enhancing the co-participants' processing of the information as the experimental studies revealed, producing through that faster reaction times in comparison with speech-only inducements (Holler *et al*., 2017; Kelly *et al*., 2010; Wu and Coulson, 2015).

Contrarily, Streeck (2009) also investigated how hand gestures and talk my facilitate interaction. The study examined how a forward-gesture produced by a speaker may prepare a recipient to what may be uttered in the subsequent talk, for example, a flagging of the hand may indicate to the recipient that a request will be rejected. Moreover, the study revealed that hand gestures as a multimodal resource organized the interaction differently depending upon when the gesture had been utilized, at a pre-beginning, mid-turn or turn-completion position, varying the roles from facilitating the talk in an interaction or demonstrating alignment with another recipient.

Mondada (2007) has also adopted a CA perspective to examine how participants utilize multimodal resources such as pointing, to establish themselves for primary speakership during work meetings. The analysis of the video recordings revealed that pointing gestures not only project a participant's possible turn-completion, but also indicated a possible emergence of a next

speaker. The analysis further revealed how a participant's turn may emerge through the employment of pointing while there continues to be discussions, note taking and map searching. Mondada (2007) also demonstrated how a participant's pointing gesture, via stretching an arm with a pen across the table and pointing to the map indicated to the other co-participants an attempt to self-select for next-primary-speakership. On the other hand, the pointing gesture when employed by a current speaker may provide an indication to the co-participants a possibility of reaching a near turn-completion. Mondada's (2007) study provides an understanding of how co-participants utilize multimodal resources, such as pointing gestures to sequentially organize their interaction and manage their turn-taking.

2.6.3 *Body Posture*

In face-to-face social interaction, humans may utilize various parts of their body to demonstrate their engagement level in an interaction. CA studies examining participants' employment of their body posture and movements and their orientation to the physical space around them during their talk-in-interaction have significantly benefited from Kendon's (1990) influential work on the notion of *transactional segment*. According to Kendon, the human body is organized into three hierarchical parts: the head, including an individual's eyes; the torso and the lower body, which a participant may twist around in the same vertical axis to display his/her level of involvement. This had been termed by Goffman (1963) as 'multifocused gathering', in which a participant may easily demonstrate a focus of attention via their head and torso which are more flexible in relation to the lower body which tends to hold a relatively more static position during an activity (Kendon, 1990). For example, in a traditional classroom setting, with students seated facing the board listening to the teacher, a student may adopt a 'torqued' body position (Schegloff, 1998), with the lower body still remaining in a forward-facing position, while twisting the head and torso to request a pen for instance from the fellow classmate seated in the row behind them. Such a request is not only an unstable activity during an on-going-lesson. The activity is also physically constrained by the seating position of the students, which reduces the possibility of holding an extended social interaction with the classmate seated behind them, in comparison if the students were requested by the teacher to have a paired discussion with the classmate sitting next to them, with both facing a forward position, as both may be facilitating an interaction in a more relaxed *home position* (Sacks and Schegloff, 2002), requiring brief twists. This notion is being

further investigated in studies relating to gesture-in-talk in various contexts, including those involving physical objects.

Mondada (2009) is one study that has examined how participants interact within a 'common interactional space' from a CA perspective. The study investigated the participants' embodied orientations to spatial arrangements in relation to pre-beginning and opening sequences during a face-to-face interaction. The analysis revealed that strangers encountering one another during the first few seconds in a public space employed various multimodal resources, such as establishing mutual gaze, their body posture and walking trajectories, in addition to their voice to design their pre-beginning, beginning and completion turns. On the other hand, Mortensen and Hazel (2014) adopted a social interactional approach to examine how participants utilize embodiment in an institutional-based setting to negotiate their interactional space during the opening phase at an international university help desk. The analysis revealed that when students, who represent the clients approached the help desk at the opening phase to interact with the service provider behind the desk, both parties employed various embodied actions such as their gaze orientation, walking, object manipulating of items in the surroundings, facial gestures, postural configurations and then greetings to establish themselves from being co-present to co-participants in an interactional space. The authors argued that the embodied procedures adopted by both parties were not only systematic but tend to be established sequentially to shift the spatial interaction into a more focused interaction.

2.7 Multimodality in L2 Learning and Teaching Settings

With the growing interest in SLA to adopt a CA framework to investigate the interactional realities in language classrooms, additional interest has geared towards examining the interplay between the L2 learners' embodiment and language usage in various face-to-face L2 settings (e.g. Carroll, 2004; Eskildsen and Wagner, 2015; Hauser, 2009; Hazel and Mortensen, 2017; Kaanta, 2010; Lazaraton, 2004; Mortensen, 2009; Olsher, 2004; Satar and Wigham, 2017; Sert and Walsh, 2013; Stivers and Sidnell, 2005). The increased recognition of the role of embodiment in face-to-face interaction has been supported by Carroll (2004) and Olsher (2004) as they propose that upon researching any face-to-face interaction between L2 speakers, it is important that close considerations are allocated to the embodied resources utilized by the participants in the interaction. In fact, Carroll (2004, p. 219) expands her argument by stating that the "lack of attention to body

behaviours represents not only a gap in the research but a serious methodological blind spot which future research must address".

As previously mentioned, the expanding attention researchers are allocating to investigating the embodied interactions have led second language studies to focus on the interactional practices of L2 speakers and their L2 teachers via their employment of gaze, gesture and body configurations, in addition to their orientation to artifacts in both traditional classroom contexts (Kaanta, 2010; Sert and Walsh, 2013), as well as in only student-student interactions, such as in group discussions (Hauser, 2009; Lee, 2017). In their study, Sert and Walsh (2013) displayed the embodied actions teachers adopted to explain the meanings of various vocabulary items. The study also demonstrated the students' interactional practices to reveal to the teacher their 'claim of insufficient knowledge'. The study further displayed that the teacher's orientation to the students' embodied practices and the teacher's employment of hand gestures during the teaching of the vocabulary terms actually enhanced the students' engagement. According to Sert and Walsh (2013), a teacher's utilization of embodiment during the vocabulary explanations may be an interactionally significant resource to facilitate both teaching and learning in the second language classroom. Similar findings have been found in Eskildsen and Wagner's (2015) study on the role of a teacher's embodiment in enhancing L2 learners' understanding of vocabulary terms. The findings also revealed that L2 students may employ and recycle similar embodied gestures as well as talk to those previously utilized by the teacher in the explanation of a term upon their usage and explanation of the vocabulary terms to other participants. According to Eskildsen and Wagner (2015) the interplay of talk and gesture not only enhances the learning process, but it also attains and preserves intersubjectivity amongst the participants.

Belhiah (2009) examined the embodied practices of face-to-face interaction in a different L2 setting, that involving an L2 learner with a tutor in an L2 tutorial interaction. The study examined how the learner and tutor managed their talk as well as their embodiment amongst each other, and how they oriented to their participant's gaze and body posture during the tutorial session within distinct phases of the interaction, such as the opening and closing phases. The analysis displayed that in the opening phase of the interaction, the tutor tends to orient his gaze and body posture towards the material as an indication to the student to orient to the material as well.

Whereas in the closing phase, both parties tend to divert their eye gaze from one another, followed by the tutor's body reconfiguration of standing-up, with the learner following suit. Belhiah (2009) argued that the learner's and tutor's talk as well as their embodied actions in the opening and closing phases of their interaction displayed their meaningful coordination as they engaged in a cooperatively constructed activity.

2.8 Multimodal Research in L2 Group Oral Assessments

Although there is an increase in the amount of studies investigating the multimodal resources being employed in various face-to-face L2 interactional settings, the role of embodied interaction remains under researched within the field of L2 oral assessments, with group-oral-assessments being no exception. Galaczi (2014) argued in her analysis of paired test-taker interaction, that in spite of the importance of examining the test-takers' non-linguistic features during their assessed interaction and despite the examiners finding the test-takers' embodied interaction for managing the turn-taking salient as they rate the L2 learners, there tends to be little descriptors related to embodied interaction on the assessment criteria, which may assist in providing a more holistic examination of the assessed interaction. Galaczi also highlighted that there is limited amount of research investigating embodied interaction, especially with researchers utilizing audio recordings to collect their data as done in Galaczi (2014). For that, she argues a need to further expand the understanding about the role of embodied interaction taking place between L2 test-takers' during their assessed interactions.

There are currently few empirical studies adopting a CA methodological approach to reveal how embodiment is utilized by co-participants during a naturally occurring interaction in an L2 group-oral-assessment (Gan and Davison, 2011). One study that examined the embodied resources test-takers utilized during their interaction in L2 group-oral-assessments is Nakatsuhara (2009; 2011). In her studies, Nakatsuhara revealed how test-takers incorporated gaze and hand gestures, such as hand extensions and drawing in the air to organize and manage next-speaker selections. Her analysis revealed how at times test-takers employed gaze and extended hand gestures skillfully to select the next-speaker, whereas at other times, a test-taker may employ a hand gesture, such as drawing in the air with an index finger to pre-establish to the other test-takers the order in which they are to hold their turns, in other words, pre-determining the turn-taking system the test-takers

are to follow. According to Nakatsuhara (2009; 2011) this embodied action tends to make the turn-taking seem mechanical, despite the usage of the extended hand gestures by the current speaker to select the next speaker.

Leyland *et al*. (2016) adopted a similar approach revealing the various embodied resources a teaching assistant (TA) employed, such as gaze, head nods and hand gestures to manage and invite a group of novice test-takers into the assessed discussion as well as to expand their talk. Luk (2010) also presented some embodied interaction, displaying the test-takers' employment of gaze, head nods and giggles during their interaction to manage their turn-taking and to display agreement and alignment with other co-participants, in order to maintain group solidarity; an interactional pattern that has been similarly adopted by the test-takers in Leyland *et. al*.'s (2016) study. Though, Gan *et al*. (2009) and Gan (2010) not only focused on the role of gaze in managing test-takers' turn-taking, but its role in inviting co-participants into the assessed discussion.

Gan and Davison (2011) utilized the multimodal approach to investigate whether there are variances between the higher and lower-scoring test-takers usage of gestures during a group-oral-assessment interaction. The analysis revealed that test-takers attributed to achieving lower scores produced less gestures in comparison to the group holding higher scores. In addition, when gestures were employed by the lower scoring group, they were highly irrelevant to their talk. Though, it may be noted that the gestures adopted by the lower-scoring test-takers when used for the purpose of managing turn-taking within the group and for inviting others to the floor tended to be more meaningful. On the other hand, test-takers in the higher-scoring group produced more synchronized interactional behavior in relation with their talk, utilizing their gaze, facial expressions as well as hand gestures more skillfully during their talk and for managing the turn-taking amongst the group members. The authors argue that such findings reveal that the attributed scores by an examiner also provide an indication of the type of gestural patterns co-participants may employ in a face-to-face interaction during L2 group-oral-assessments.

Alternatively, Greer and Potter (2008) presented a highly detailed turn-by-turn interactional unfolding of the test-takers' practices during an assessed group discussion via examining the role

of embodiment, such as gaze, gesture and body reconfigurations in managing successful or unsuccessful turn-taking attempts as they interplay with talk to achieve next-speaker selections. Through reviewing the above studies adopting a multimodal approach to examine L2 group-oral-assessment interactions, it may be noted that the role of managing successful next-speaker-selections plays a vital part in the test-takers' orchestration of the assessed group discussions, which will be examined further in the succeeding section.

2.9 Next-Speaker Selection

Spoken interaction is generally organized around the distribution of turns between the involved parties. Although the turn-taking practices tend to be intuitive, the coordination between the co-participants during talk-in-interaction tends to be highly fine-tuned, providing speakership rights to one party at a time. According to Sacks *et al*. (1974) there are specific turn allocation rules that govern how co-participants in an ordinary mundane conversation attain next turns. Sacks *et al*. (1974, p. 703) classifies the turn allocation practices into two groups:

(i) those in which next turn is allocated by current-speaker's selecting next speaker
(ii) those in which a next turn is allocated by self-selection

Nevertheless, a question remains: how do the co-participants in a conversation create this transition from one current-speaker to another, and what selection method do the parties utilize to select who is entitled to be the next speaker in a group conversation? Sacks *et al*. (1974) lays a foundation in how turn-taking is generally managed by the co-participants in a conversation.

(a) When a current-speaker reaches a possible completion point and selects another co-participant to speak, then the current speaker is obligated to stop talking at that point, and the selected co-participant should start their next turn.
(b) However, if the current-speaker does not select anyone to speak next upon reaching a possible completion point, then any co-participant may self-select to start their next turn. Though when more than one co-participant attempts to self-select, the first starter is the one who holds the right to the next turn.
(c) On the other hand, if the current-speaker reaches a possible completion point, and does not select another speaker to the floor, nor does any other co-participant self-select to gain a turn, then the current speaker may, but does not need to continue with the turn.

Sacks *et al*. (1974) advances the turn-taking model via providing the tactics that co-participants may utilize during a conversation to 'select a next-speaker' or 'self-select' for a next turn.

2.9.1 *Current-Speaker Selects Next-Speaker Tactics*

The review will first examine the techniques a co-participant may adopt to select a specified next-speaker. Sacks *et al*. (1974) proposes that achieving the selection of another speaker entitles the current-speaker to construct their turn-at-talk in a manner that includes a *first pair-part*, for instance, a question. Though, to ensure the selected co-participant gains a right to the floor, the current-speaker in addition to constructing their talk as a *first pair-part* is to use either an address term or an embodied action projected towards the co-participant, such as gaze or a hand gesture (Lerner, 2003). This is because the utilization of only a question does not necessarily establish a particular co-participant as the intended next-speaker, unless the question is tacitly addressing a particular co-participant utilizing context-specific details which indicate that this individual is the only *response-eligible recipient* of the question (Hayashi, 2013; Lerner, 2003).

2.9.2 *Self-Selection Tactics*

When a current-speaker does not exercise their right to select a next-speaker, then a co-participant may self-select to gain the next-turn. However, when more than one participant attempts to gain the next-turn, then the earlier starter is the most likely, but not necessarily, the one who will gain the next turn (Sacks *et al*., 1974). To gain a next-turn by being an early starter, a co-participant will need to project and anticipate when the current-speaker will reach a transition relevance place. Yet, in an attempt to become an early starter, a next-speaker may begin their talk slightly prior to the current-speaker completing their talk. This has been termed as a *terminal overlap* (Jefferson, 1984), which tends to be one of the main reasons for overlapping talk.

As an overlap may at times prevent the co-participants' comprehension of an incoming turn, Sacks *et al*. (1974) argue that a next-speaker may construct the beginning of their turn via employing *appositional beginnings*, such as the use of *but*, *so*, *and*, and so forth, in order to designate their right to the next turn without impairing comprehension, as well as to minimize the effect of the overlap. A co-participant may also employ embodied means to claim their right to

next-speakership or to indicate to the other co-participants their readiness to hold a turn. A co-participant may adopt what Schegloff (1996) refers to as *pre-beginning elements,* embodied actions that display a readiness to speak next, such as utilizing a pointing gesture (Mondada, 2007), arm-stretching (Streeck, 2009) or even facial expressions, like opening the mouth without producing sounds (Streeck and Hartge, 1992). The use of such embodiment may not only contribute to an early turn-incursion, but they also assist in avoiding the negative effects of an overlapping talk (Hayashi, 2013). On the other hand, an intending next-speaker may also employ *vocal pre-beginning tactics*, such as audible inbreath to display a readiness to gain next-speakership.

Nevertheless, if a current-speaker is intending to progress with their turn-at-talk in spite of noticing a self-selector's attempts to gain the floor, then the current-speaker may utilize various resources to compete for the floor and preserve their turn-at-talk (Hayashi, 2013). The current-speaker may employ prosodic manipulations to their talk, via raising their voice, increasing their pitch, producing their talk in a slower or faster pace, even cutting-off their talk without prior notice, extending the sounds of letters as well as recycling parts of a prior talk (Schegloff, 2000). According to Schegloff (2000) these practices may be utilized by the current-speaker in an event of an overlap or upon noticing a co-participant preparing their self to gain the next-turn. Nonetheless, when an overlap in talk does occur, the co-participants may register the effects of such an overlap, as one speaker may stop talking to provide an opportunity to the other speaker of maintaining the floor (Hayashi, 2013).

Alternatively, it is also important to note that in spite of the turn-taking practices adopted by the co-participants to either 'select another speaker' or to 'self-select', these turn-taking practices may vary depending on the type of speech exchange system the co-participants are involved in (Sacks *et al*. 1974). As such, the rules governing the turn-taking system of an institutional-based interaction, in terms of when and how speaker-change occurs may sometimes vary from the normative rules proposed by Sacks *et al*. (1974), revealing the institutionality of the interaction.

2.10 Speaker Selection in L1 Institutional Contexts

Workplace meetings are one institutional setting that have recently received greater attention. This is because the turn-allocation practices in workplace meetings tend to differ from the interactional practices found in multiparty non-institutional contexts (Ford and Stickle, 2012). One variance is that in non-institutional contexts, such as in mundane conversation, a group of multiparty participants may schism into distinct interactions (Egbert, 1997; Sacks *et al*., 1974; Schegloff, 1995), which is generally not possible in workplace meetings where the participants' interaction is primarily restricted to an institutionally focused action (Drew and Heritage, 1992; Ford and Stickle, 2012). In addition, the interactional practices within workplace meetings are usually characterized as involving extended turns-of-talk for the participating members. Moreover, these next turns tend to be allocated or secured via the meeting's chair, unlike those attributed to mundane interaction.

In their study on workplace meetings, Ford and Stickle (2012) investigate how do non-current primary-speakers, who are not the meeting's chair secure a right to the floor as a next primary-speaker. The findings were based on the analysis of 26 hours of video recorded meetings that took place in an American city. The findings revealed that self-selectors employed various embodied resources, such as gaze, hand gestures, body posture reconfigurations and prosodic manipulations of their emerging turn to display recipiency and gain their co-participants' attention. The analysis also reveals that the ability to secure a turn also relates to the self-selectors' careful monitoring of their co-participants' interaction and their current turns-at-talk, allowing them to display their turn-initiation tactics near the time a current-speaker reaches a possible turn-completion point. In two previous studies by Ford (2008) and Boden (1994) on the turn-allocation practice in workplace meetings, they discovered that in spite of the chair's power to govern the turn-allocation practices during the meeting, co-participants intending to self-select tend to compete in their displays of recipiency to gain attention and claim next-primary-speakership.

2.11 Speaker Selection in L2 Institutional Contexts

CA research investigating the L2 institutional contexts have primarily focused on how the turn-allocation practices are distinct from those of mundane conversation as described in Sacks *et*

al., (1974). CA studies have generally explored the turn-allocation practices in the language classrooms (e.g. Lauzon and Berger, 2015; Markee, 2000; Mortensen, 2008; Olsher, 2004) as well as in-class group discussions (e.g. Hauser, 2009). The analysis from the studies reveal that although it may seem that the turn-allocation practices taking place amongst the co-participants have been pre-allocated, a more detailed investigation demonstrates how the interaction and the turn-transitions are actually managed and administered locally by the co-participants involved in the institutional interaction (Hauser, 2009). Although the participants' turn-taking practices are considered to be affected by the institutional context, it is the participants' displays of orientation to the institutional context or lack of orientation that influence the turn-allocation practices of the participants (Drew and Heritage, 1992). In other words, the turn-taking practices that the participants adopt are what influence the participants to "do being participants in institutional talk, taking on certain institutionally relevant roles, and thus renewing the institutional context" (Hauser, 2009, p. 216). On the contrary, co-participants may also choose to conduct their turn-allocation practices in a manner that views the institutional setting as being irrelevant to their local context.

One study examining such practice in the classroom context is Mortensen (2008). The study examines how the L2 teachers as well as their students negotiate turn-taking through the use of embodiment. The analysis of 25 hours of video recordings from numerous Danish second language classrooms reveal that the students employ their gaze orientation towards the teacher to project a willingness of being selected as a next-speaker in order to produce the specified second pair-part, the relevant next action for the first pair-part addressed by the teacher. On the other hand, a refraining gaze reveals that the students lack interest or lack willingness to gain next-speakership, in order not to provide the second pair-part for the addressed question.

Lauzon and Berger (2015) obtained similar findings to those in Mortensen (2008), in which they argued that turn-allocation techniques in classroom interaction are not arbitrary, but rather, are co-constructed between the students and the teacher. As in Mortensen (2008), the authors found that students adopted various embodied resources, such as gaze, head nods and hand raising gestures to manage the turn-allocation practices within the language classroom and to indicate to the teacher their availability or unavailability to respond to the teacher's questions. This had also been witnessed in other studies such as in Kaanta (2010), Koole and Berenst (2008). It is also

important to note that, as the L2 classroom is goal-oriented in nature, the interaction in the L2 classroom is also interactionally organized in a manner that demands the co-participants to rely on what Lauzon and Berger (2015) referred to as 'traffic-management' tactics, in that students were to deviate from colliding with their turns-at-talk or to perform schisming (Egbert, 1997; Sacks *et al*., 1974; Schegloff, 1995). This was to achieve the central goal of classroom interaction, which is to learn a second language (Seedhouse, 2004). Such a goal orientation demanded the collaborative work between the teacher and the students. First, the teacher was expected to be capable of comprehending the embodied displays of the students, as either revealing a readiness to receive a turn or not. Second, upon noticing the participants' displays of recipiency or lack of willingness to hold the floor, it was important for the teacher to recognize the difference in tactics for each, as the extent of availability to hold the floor would influence the interactional practices that follow by the students. Nevertheless, the findings of this study also revealed that the turn-allocation practices within the L2 classroom were a result of the co-participants collaboration rather than being merely attributed to the "teachers' control over the organization of turn-allocation" (Lauzon and Berger, 2015, p. 15).

Alternatively, upon investigating the interactional practices in L2 classroom group-discussions, Hauser (2009) argued that the students interacting within the group generally oriented to taking the role of a primary-speaker. Hauser also claimed that although the turn-allocation may at first glance appear to be pre-determined, the detailed CA approach revealed how the participating students managed their turn-taking locally and it was the individual members who administered the next-speaker selections. Furthermore, the co-participants in classroom group discussions treated the role of primary-speakership as a role that every member of the group was expected to acquire at some time during the discussion. Hauser (2009) further argued that the students' negotiations to produce speakership turn-transitions related to several issues. First, it was to determine if a current-speaker had gained substantial amounts of access to the floor, and second, it was to determine which co-participant should be entitled to gain next-primary-speakership. Such issues revealed that managing turn-allocations in the above described manner were mainly so that the co-participants were able to "construct an intersubjective understanding of the nature of the classroom task that they have been assigned and display an orientation to the institutional context" (Hauser, 2009, p.236).

2.12 Speaker Selection in L2 Group Oral Assessments

Group oral discussion formats have been increasing in popularity in both L2 pedagogic and assessment-based contexts for the purpose of providing L2 test-takers with an opportunity to display their linguistic and interactional abilities in a context that is similar to what the learners may later encounter in higher education settings (e.g. seminars). Currently, there is a growing body of CA research investigating the interactional realities within group-oral-assessment discussions (Plough, 2018), such as examining test-taker turn-taking practices. One study that has embarked to explore turn-taking practices that emerge from group-oral-assessments without the involvement of an examiner is Nakatsuhara (2011). Nakatsuhara (2011) argued that the group's size, consisting of either 3 or 4 test-takers, influenced how test-takers distributed their turns. The analysis revealed that test-takers in groups of three were more successful in involving quiet test-takers through adopting an 'asymmetric expert' or 'novice interactions' (Nakatsuhara, 2009; 2011; Storch, 2002; van Lier; 1989) in which a more proficient test-taker may utilize scaffolding to involve a reticent test-taker into the discussion. Whereas, this interactional behavior was less successful in groups of four, where the reticent test-taker remained quiet. In fact, Nakatsuhara's (2011) analysis further demonstrated that groups of four employed more unnatural forms of turn-allocations, what Nakatsuhara referred to as 'mechanical', in other words, following a pre-determined order according to the test-takers' seating position. Although the test-takers utilized embodied resources, such as gaze and hand gesture to select the next-speaker, Nakatsuhara (2011) argued that regardless of the test-takers utilization of embodied actions to address the next-speaker, the turn-taking was following a pre-determined order, either relating to their seating arrangements or following the arrangements a test-taker indicated via embodiment just prior to talking, such as drawing the direction of the turns in the air with an index finger, which supported the 'mechanical' turn-taking practice in groups of four.

Another turn-giving pattern utilized by the test-takers in groups of four test-takers was the use of the questions 'How about you?' or 'What do you think?' to select the next-speaker (Nakatsuhara, 2011). However, Nakatsuhara proposed that although groups of three test-takers also employed these questions as sequence openers, they tended to be more mechanical in use in groups of four. This was not only related to the frequency of their usage by many of the test-takers within a single group of four test-takers, but also because it was being employed in accordance

with the pre-determined turn-taking order in relation to their seating arrangements. Moreover, turn-transitions between the test-takers in groups of four were mainly allocated by an other-selection to the person next to them, allowing few opportunities to group members to self-select, a pattern that Nakatsuhara (2011) argued was deviant from natural interaction. Nakatsuhara further concluded that the test-takers in groups of four produced no schisming, a salient phenomenon in groups of four, and maintained the talk to one speaker at a time, which further demonstrated the unnatural turn-taking practices in groups of four. However, Nakatsuhara (2011) did note that the test-takers' lack of schisming may have related to the test-takers orientation to the institutional goal of the interaction which was to display their language capabilities to the examiners, in which the test-takers may have believed schisming would contribute to increasing the difficulty of assessment on the examiners.

Another study that has examined the turn-allocation practices in group-oral-assessments is Greer and Potter (2008). In their study, the authors investigated how novice test-takers utilized the question 'How about you?' to select a next-speaker. The analysis revealed that the test-takers tend to use the question in concurrence with embodied actions such as gaze direction or an extended hand gesture towards the intended recipient to select him/her for next-primary-speakership. The findings also exhibited the test-takers' overwhelming usage of the question as a turn-allocation device to select a next-speaker. However, in spite of the extended use of the question 'How about you?' by the test-takers to select another speaker, the analysis revealed that novice L2 learners may not necessarily incorporate the question successfully, creating misunderstandings in who is entitled to next-primary-speakership.

Problems in the employment of 'How about you?' had generally evolved as a result of a non-primary-speaker, adopting the role of a 'pivot' (Hauser, 2009) through self-selecting to allocate the turn to another test-taker using the question 'How about you?'. According to Greer and Potter (2008) the pivot, the most proficient test-taker, in an attempt to engage a reticent test-taker may have adopted their role at a time when the current-speaker had not yet displayed an intention to end their turn-at-talk. Moreover, the pivot's turn-allocation to the reticent speaker at an unexpected time had a tendency to create extended gaps between the turns as the selection came as a surprise to the selected next-speaker. In fact, rather than providing an opportunity for the

reticent test-taker to speak, the silent test-taker generally maintained their silence, though, at times produced only a hesitation marker which gave a negative effect, revealing the disfluency of the reticent test-taker (Greer and Potter, 2008).

On the other hand, Greer and Potter's (2008) analysis also demonstrated how some test-takers holding primary-speakership may compete with the pivot to retain their right to select the next-speaker through making the selection using 'How about you?' in overlap with the pivot. Although the pivot may be intending to orient to the institutional goal of engaging the reticent test-taker and providing them with an opportunity to the floor, the attempt had been found not only to prevent the current-speaker from expanding their turn-at-talk, which was generally a short turn, but the reticent test-taker typically displayed no uptake. Furthermore, when a proficient test-taker adopted the role of the pivot and pursued with exercising the role, they had a tendency to dominate and complicate the turn-allocation practices the other test-takers were attempting to exercise. Nevertheless, Greer and Potter (2008) argued that in spite of some of the turn-taking problems that ascended as a result of the pivot actively working to engage reticent test-takers in the discussion, group-oral-assessments remain a platform that provide test-takers with an opportunity to produce a variety of talk and display interactional capabilities.

In a previous study, He and Dai (2006) investigated the level of interaction amongst Chinese test-takers of non-English majors taking a College English Test-Spoken English Test (CET-SET) for the purpose of validating whether the CET-SET group discussion assessment syllabus matched the participants' actual performance on the test. Results were obtained via transcribing the assessed discussion task and examining specified interactional language functions, as well as surveying 196 participants for their perception after the test. The findings revealed a low-level of interaction amongst the test-takers. Van Moere (2007) also explored the validity of the interaction within group-oral-assessments administered to Japanese test-takers via examining the reliability of test scores and their reflection of the participants' proficiency levels. The research further investigated the discourse generalizability of the discussion tasks in group oral tests in relation to other group oral tasks. The findings were attained via the administration of three distinct studies for the purpose of repeating the measures design. Results revealed that variance in discussion topics also influenced the variation in discourse and test scores, while prompting limited

variations in interaction. Though, Van Moere (2007) suggested that test designers introduce discussion tasks that enhance goal orientation and reactivity to test-takers to increase their interaction.

Contrarily, Lam (2018) is a more recent study that focuses on examining test-takers' displays of interactional competence in group oral assessed discussions. Lam suggests that co-participants display their comprehension to a previous speaker's talk through their 'responding to' indicators. In other words, the interactional feature of "*producing responses contingent on previous speaker contribution*, whereby a current speaker refers back to or topicalizes elements in a previous speaker's talk" (Lam, 2018, p. 6, italics in original) is a construct feature revealing test-takers' interactional competence during assessed group discussions. According to Lam (2018), there are three conversational actions that test-takers employ to generate contingent responses which display interactional competence: (i) Formulating previous speakers' contributions (through paraphrasing or summarizing), (ii) Accounting for (dis)agreement with previous speakers' ideas, and (iii) Extending previous speakers' ideas (Lam, 2018, p. 20). Lam argues that these contingent responses are unlike formulaic backchannels in which they provide more accurate reflections of test-takers' comprehension and are better oriented to by both co-participants and examiners.

Despite this increased awareness being attributed to interaction within group-oral-assessments and to test-takers' tactics in employing next-speaker-selections, via resources including gaze or hand gestures, research remains limited in relation to examining the role of embodiment in group-oral-assessments (Plough, 2018), specifically in relation to test-takers' next-speaker-selection practices within group-oral-assessments, which the present study pursues further.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The current study adopts a Conversation Analysis (CA) methodology to present a multimodal and micro-analytic analysis of L2 test-takers' talk-in-interaction during an assessed group oral discussion in a UK university-affiliated language institute for international students. One purpose for employing a CA framework to conduct this study is related to the increasing call in SLA research to expand the parameters of examining social interaction research in educational-based settings (Firth and Wagner, 1997). Through employing a CA methodology, SLA researchers are able to investigate the ways L2 learners co-construct meaning and their social situations via talk and interaction in numerous educational settings, including teaching, learning as well as oral assessment settings (e.g. Greer and Potter, 2008; Kaanta, 2010; Lee, 2017; Leyland *et al*., 2016; Mortensen, 2008; Satar and Wigham, 2017; Seedhouse and Nakatsuhara, 2018).

Another reason for adopting CA as a methodology is because of its strength and "capacity to direct researchers' attention to apparently tiny features of interaction and explore their dimensions…revealing delicacies of design and management" (Richards, 2005, p. 1). Such a fundamental role in displaying 'the interaction order' (Goffman, 1983) in social interaction assists researchers adopting a CA framework to display a "holistic portrayal of language use which reveals the reflexive relationships between form, function, sequence, social identity and social/institutional context" (Seedhouse, 2018, p. 46). In other words, a CA analyst is able to examine how the participants' talk is organized in relation to their social or institutional goals (Seedhouse, 2018) from an emic standpoint. With the employment of an emic perspective to analyze talk-in-interaction, a researcher not only examines the interaction of the participants from their perspectives, but also explores how the social actions are performed within their sequential environment (Seedhouse, 2005). This exploits how the participants via their talk bring their social world into existence via employing "context-free interactional architecture in context-sensitive ways" (Seedhouse, 2005, p. 252). This assists in researching talk not for how language is constructed *per se*, but to examine talk as a social action, in terms of how participants use talk to "structure and coordinate their actions to produce a coherent interaction" (Garcia, 2013, p. 5-6). Such a standpoint of the CA methodology is not to claim that an emic perspective is of more

importance than an etic perspective (Seedhouse, 2005) as supported by CA researchers employing additional data collection procedures such as stimulated recall or questionnaires to form their analytic underpinnings as CA "has been adapted in various ways to rather different disciplinary settings and agendas" (ten Have, 2007, p. 42) due to researchers holding different interpretations of CA as a methodological framework.

Nevertheless, my adoption of a pure emic approach has provided me as a researcher with an opportunity to examine and understand the participants' talk and embodied behavior from within their social and institutional system, via highlighting a distinct turn-allocation practice of a *non-primary-speaker* that emerges to facilitate challenging turn-transfers that arise within assessment-based discussions. In addition, with the increased appreciation of CA towards the role of embodiment, this research contributes to multimodal CA research through including visually detailed multimodal transcripts that display how embodied resources are utilized in congruent with talk to facilitate successful turn-transfers via a non-primary-speaking test-taker during a group oral assessment. It is for these reasons that the CA methodology is appropriate for the current study, as it provides the opportunity to investigate how L2 learners employ speech as well as their embodiment to organize their face-to-face interaction within an assessment-based institutional setting. To achieve an understanding of the ways test-takers manage the shift from one speaker to the next for extended turns, in particular, the ways one test-taker adopts the role of an '*enabler*' to facilitate the shift from one speaker's extended turn to another speaker's extended turn, the following questions are addressed:

1. When does a test-taker adopt the interactional role of an 'enabler'?
2. How does the 'enabler' achieve the facilitation of next-speaker selections?
3. How do other test-takers orient to such an interaction?

After having provided a general overview of the relevance of CA as a methodology to the current study and the research questions, the chapter will now present the Ethnomethodological foundations of CA in section 3.2, followed by a description of CA's core interactional phenomena in section 3.3, in terms of *turn-taking*, encompassing within it, speaker-selections, then examining *sequence organization* as well as *repair*. Then section 3.4 discusses how CA assists in the

examination of multimodal interaction, followed by a focus on the primary issues of reliability, validity and generalizability of CA as a methodology in section 3.5.

3.2 Ethnomethodology: The Epistemological Foundations of CA

The aim of Conversation Analysis as a methodology is to investigate talk-in-interaction through exploring how participants produce and interpret one another's talk (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008). This is because CA originated from ethnomethodology (EM) which holds a primary interest in comprehending the organizational structure of talk and its orderliness as a social interaction (Heritage, 2008; Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008; Schegloff *et al*., 1977). As a principle, ethnomethodology was established by Garfinkel (1967) as a reaction to a previously dominating sociological research procedure, that of the Parsonian perception (1937) which believed that sociologists have a higher intellect over members of a society, and as such may employ their expertise to explicate their macro-social rules on the individuals of a society. With such a view, members of a society are considered to behave according to the rules of the sociologist without thinking, in other words, the sociologist analyzes individuals' actions within a society from an external, or 'etic' point of view (Seedhouse, 2004; ten Have, 2007). Garfinkel (1967) opposed such an analytic framework and proposed that the participants' behavior may be examined in more detail through an 'emic' approach, which examines the participants' actions from inside his/her specific (social/cultural) system (Pike, 1967; ten Have, 2007), meaning, through examining the participants' displays of orientation to one another's observable actions during the social interaction (Schegloff, 1992). This perspective stems the foundation for both EM and CA research (Seedhouse, 2004). There are additionally five basic principles of EM which underlie the foundation of CA research.

The first principle is *indexicality* also referred to as *context-boundedness*. This reveals how although participants during their social interaction may maintain certain aspects of their talk-in-interaction implicit, the participants may utilize their indexical knowledge, that of the social context as well as the knowledge that is "talked into being by the interactants" (Seedhouse, 2004, p. 7) to gain a mutual understanding about the interaction. In other words, participants demonstrate via their talk which particular features of the social context they are referencing to, revealing through that a "reflexive relationship between talk and context" (Seedhouse, 2004, p.7). It is these evident

orientations of the participants that both EM and CA research consider in the analysis of an interaction, considering only contextual features that the participants invoke into the interactional context.

The second underlying principle of ethnomethodology which forms a basis for analyzing social interaction from an emic perspective is Garfinkel's employment of the *documentary method of interpretation*, which was previously devised by Mannheim (1952). This notion considers any interactional pattern as a document (Garfinkel, 1984) treating what the participants identify in their social interactions as their schema knowledge, assisting the participants by that in reacting accordingly. An example may be upon a participant hearing another address them with 'Hi', the participant relates this interactional pattern to their schema knowledge and identifies it as a greeting. However, upon being approached with a different greeting pattern, the participant is likely to refer that to their schema to interpret the similarities and differences in the interactional pattern. This new interaction increases the participant's schema knowledge with an additional form of greeting. Through having observed the previous turn and the sequence of the interaction the participant, as well as the researcher are able to analyze the social interaction taking place.

The third notion is the *reciprocity of perspectives*. This principle adopts the belief that participants generally follow similar norms within their interactions and as such are able to demonstrate an affiliation with their interactants to attain intersubjectivity. Although this notion does not suggest that recipients will always obtain similar perspectives, it nevertheless reveals that when there is a breach from the normal expectations of an interaction this becomes evident in the lack of intersubjectivity by the participants. This notion has resemblance to CA's principle regarding *preference organization* which proposes that when a participant produces a preferred response then the action is generally seen though unnoticed while endorsing affiliation or reciprocity of perspectives. On the other hand, upon producing a dispreferred response, a participant's actions become not only noticeable by the recipient, but they also are accountable, working "against affiliation and reciprocity of perspectives" (Seedhouse, 2004, p. 9).

The fourth principle is *normative accountability*. This principle argues that participants are not attributed with specified social 'rules' to gain an understanding of their recipient's behavior, but rather participants obtain their comprehension of an interaction via relating them to the social norms which act as a template for participants "to design their own social actions and interpret those of others" (Seedhouse, 2004, p. 10). In other words, what is considered normative behavior acts as a template to interpret an action rather than set a rule. However, when normative behavior is not adhered to, then the action becomes noticeable accountable and even sanctionable, such as in avoiding a response to a greeting (Heritage, 1984). Such a fundamental view acts as a basis in EM and CA research. As mentioned previously, these norms do not entail participants to act in a certain form, though they act as a point of reference displaying the tactics participants may generally utilize to organize their interaction such as their turn-taking practices, how they present their sequence of actions, and the strategies they use to conduct repair. These norms present both the participants and CA researchers with a framework to comprehend social interaction (Seedhouse, 2004).

The final core principle of EM is *reflexivity*. This notion reveals that a turn-at-talk not only produces an action, but that it produces a context for a recipient to interpret the relevant subsequent action. This principle is also fundamentally bound within Conversation Analysis via the mechanism of the adjacency pair (Seedhouse, 2004). For example, if a participant greets another, then the greeting action is performed as a first pair-part of an adjacency pair. It is expected that the recipient responds with another greeting to perform the second pair-part of the adjacency pair. On another hand, the first participant's action has also provided a context for the recipient to interpret the action as a greeting, providing a basis for the recipient to perform a greeting in response. Though, if the recipient chooses to ignore the greeting and fails to produce a second pair-part then the recipient's actions become noticeable, accountable as well as sanctionable.

The current section has provided a general overview of the five-core fundamental principle of ethnomethodology which act as a foundation for CA. The succeeding section will present CA's interactional phenomena which structure the interactional organization of face-to-face interaction.

3.3 CA's Interactional Phenomena

CA research has established a number of interactional features which participants as well as researchers rely upon to interpret the social organization of talk-in-interaction (Garcia, 2013; Seedhouse, 2004; ten Have, 2007). These phenomena not only assist in providing an understanding of the interaction taking place within various forms of settings, they also act as tools for CA researchers to discover varied interconnected interactional organizations, including those within institutional-based settings. With the presence of numerous interactional phenomena, this section will highlight those features which have relevance to the current study, such as turn-taking, including speaker-selections, followed by sequence organization and repair.

3.3.1 *Turn-Taking*

Turn-taking is considered one of the primary characteristics enabling the achievement of order in co-participant spoken interaction. Sacks *et al*. (1974) referred to such order as the 'turn-taking system', in which they describe how co-participants *in* talk work locally to organize and manage their speech exchanges. According to Sacks *et al*. (1974), a turn is constructed of two components, one of which is linguistic (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008), in which participants in a multiparty talk pay attention to the way a current-speaker structures their turn during the talk to gain an understanding if the speaker is about to reach near completion of their talk. This is referred to as a turn constructional unit (TCU). Nevertheless, the completion of a TCU is not always regulated by the grammatical completion of a sentence, but rather by the completion of a particular social action (Garcia, 2013; Sidnell, 2010). When an action has been completed even through the production of a short response such as a 'yes', then this forms a space for another co-participant to attain the floor as a speaker which is known as a transition relevance place (TRP). This is because the TCU reveals its possible completion point as it projects that it is "grammatically, prosodically and pragmatically" complete (Mortensen and Wagner, 2013, p. 2).

On the other hand, a turn also has a social component, in which participants within a multiparty talk need to determine which co-participant has a right to speak next. This is referred to as the turn allocation component within the turn-taking system (Sacks *et al*., 1974). According to Sacks *et al*. (1974), the turn-taking system reveals three recurring options which govern the turn

construction and influence who attains a right to the floor at a possible TRP. The following norms tend to occur from the presence of the first TRP during any turn: (i) the current-speaker holds the right to produce another TCU; (ii) the current-speaker may select another speaker during their production of their TCU, which entails that the current-speaker stop speaking upon their TCU completion; (iii) if the current-speaker does not exercise a right to select another speaker during their TCU production, then other co-participants may self-select to attain a right to the interactional floor. Despite the simplicity of these rules, they tend to "account for the vast range of turn-taking practices in conversations involving any number of participants, in any set of relationships, speaking in whatever context and with whatever topics in play" (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008, p. 51). In other words, it may be argued that despite collecting data from institutional-based settings, with co-participants locally managing their turn-taking practices in these settings then although "the findings have relevance to practice in these settings [this] does not imply that the approach to analysis should be fundamentally different from that of the broader discipline" of the CA methodology (Richards, 2005, p. 3).

3.3.1.1 *Speaker-Selection*

This section explores the methodological procedures that demonstrate how co-participants in multiparty interaction distribute next-speaker-selections during their talk. Although speaker-selection practices have been reviewed previously in the literature review chapter, this section will examine how the turn-allocation procedures are accounted for in the 'turn taking system' as proposed by Sacks *et al*. (1974). Sacks *et al*.'s (1974) turn-taking model presents two forms of turn-allocation procedures: (i) the current-speaker selects a next-speaker; and (ii) a participant self-selects. It is first important to note that although speaker-change may be recurrent, it is not automatic as the options to change speakership occur at each TRP. This entails that speaker-change may not occur at every TRP when a current-speaker exercises their right to maintain a right to the interactional floor. It is also worth noting that turn-transfers from one speaker to another mainly occur around TRP as participants reach possible completion points, with one participant entitled to hold the floor at a time. Although there are instances when more than one co-participant overlap their talk as a result of self-selectors attempting to produce early starts to gain next-primary-speakership. The participants generally resolve their overlaps quickly, sometimes with either of the participants 'dropping out' (Hayashi, 2013) to provide the other participant with a right to next-

primary-speakership. The occurrences of these overlaps by self-selectors tend to exhibit their projection of the possible completion point of a TCU or when a TRP will occur.

Yet, Sacks *et al*. (1974) claim that upon making turn-transitions from one speaker to another, it is common that the next speaker resumes talk with no gaps or overlaps, though it is also common to notice slight gaps and overlaps as turns are transferred near a TRP from one speaker to another. In addition, these turn-transfers tend to vary amongst the participating members within multiparty groups as the turn order is not fixed to select a particular next-speaker. This is because next-speaker-selections as mainly managed locally by the participants. Nevertheless, next-speaker-selections are also not completely random as other issues may come into play, such as the priority of the current-speaker to select a next-speaker over a self-selection, as well as dealing with repair issues, which a previous speaker may be requested to clarify or repeat a previous utterance. This then brings us to the next feature of turns, which is that a speaker's turn is not fixed to a particular size, but rather it varies between a sentential construction to a single unit-type construction. This allows for speaker-change to occur more often, though in certain contexts, such as institutional-based settings, including oral assessments, a single unit-type construction may not be deemed enough or relevant as having gained a turn as a next-speaker. Another characteristic is that the content of what a speaker will produce in their next turn is not pre-specified or pre-determined in length unless the interaction is restricted to a strictly-governed speech exchange-system, such as an interview or a ceremony. Furthermore, co-participants are not restricted to follow a certain form of turn-allocation technique to manage their next-speaker-selections within multiparty groups, as they may either choose to select a next-speaker or remain silent after they have completed their TCU to provide an opportunity for any participating member to self-select (Hayashi, 2013; Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008; Sacks *et* al., 1974).

3.3.2 *Sequence Organization*

Sequence organization is considered one of the core phenomena orchestrating social interaction as it reveals the coherent organization of turns-at-talk and how they relate to one another to make an interaction meaningful (Liddicoat, 2011; Schegloff, 2007). Through the examination of talk, Conversation Analytic studies have found that there are numerous turns at talk which are produced as pairs. This has led to an examination of various 'action sequences' in talk

to discover that there are certain 'sequences' which tend to be a common experience, in that "one thing can lead to another" (ten Have, 2007, p. 130). In other words, this reflects how some talk-in-interaction tends to produce relevant reciprocal next actions or presents adjacently paired utterances, such as the question-answer adjacency pairs or greeting-greeting and offer-accept/decline pairs (Sacks and Schegloff, 1973). These adjacency pairs form basic units to sequence a conversation via the central features they hold: (1) they are two-folded turns, (2) produced by different participants, (3) and are positioned next to one another as two separate forms, even when produced in their most basic form, (4) they are also performed in an order, with one occurring before the other, (5) as they are differentiated into two distinct pair types, a first pair part and a second pair part (Liddicoat, 2011; Schegloff and Sacks, 1973). In addition, the turn of these pairs is generally ordered, with the first pair part (FPP), the *initiate* part, such as the question coming first in a sequence, followed by the other participant's second pair part (SPP), the *responsive* action to the previous turn coming in second (Schegloff, 2007).

However, in practice, when a participant recognizes the basic sequence structure of an adjacency pair during the talk, that of noticing an FPP has been produced by a co-participant, then it is normative behavior for the recipient to produce the relevant SPP upon the first possible completion point. Though, when the response of an SPP is avoided or delayed, then a new sequence may be inserted into the adjacency pair by the speaker, referred to as side sequence, suspending through that the SPP sequence. As adjacency pairs are considered the "basic building blocks of intersubjectivity" (Heritage, 1984, p. 256) and with CA also having an interest in how co-participants attain mutual understanding, it has become important for researchers to examine how co-participants express and achieve a shared understanding of one another's actions (Seedhouse, 2004).

3.3.3 *Repair*

Repair is the process through which speakers orient to and deal with troubles that arise within talk. Repair is considered of relevance to various aspects of CA analysis as it is one of the primary phenomena that influences the turn-taking system and the sequence organization of talk (Liddicoat, 2011). It is also vital to the intersubjectivity of an interaction, as problems that arise may breakdown hearing and speaking, affecting mutual understanding of the participants

(Mortensen and Wagner, 2013; Schegloff, 1979). In addition, with repair being one of the strategies of conversation, it provides a set of practices for the participants to operate with to resolve difficulties that emerge in talk to maintain intersubjectivity and mutual understanding. This is not only to correct the errors that occur within talk, via replacing a word or a phrase in the talk. Repair is also considered by CA as a conversational phenomenon, and as such replaces the word 'correction' with the action of 'repair' as well as using the terms 'repairable' or 'trouble source' to refer to things that require repairing.

It is also important to note that it is the participants within an interaction that decide what is considered a 'trouble source' and what needs to be 'repairable'. Moreover, repair within an interaction may be initiated by different co-participants, either the speaker, referred to as *self-initiated* repair, or by their recipient, termed as *other-initiated* repair. Although repairing talk within an interaction is produced either by the speaker or a recipient, there are four types of repair that emerge of the spoken interaction (Liddicoat, 2011):

1. *Self-initiated self-repair*: this occurs when the speaker indicates a problem in the talk and resolves the trouble source him/herself.
2. *Self-initiated other-repair*: this occurs when the speaker indicates that there is a trouble source in the talk which is resolved by the recipient.
3. *Other-initiated self-repair*: this occurs when the recipient indicates there is a trouble source in the talk and the speaker resolves the trouble.
4. *Other-initiated other repair*: this occurs when the recipient indicates there is a trouble source in the talk and resolves the trouble him/herself.

Upon examining such interactional realities, CA research has revealed that there tends to be a preference for speakers to initiate their own repair and resolve the trouble themselves over having the repair initiated and resolved by the recipients (Schegloff, 1977). On the other hand, upon noticing a trouble source or upon conducting the repair, the co-participants may display their misunderstanding of the trouble source or understanding of the repair through their next turns-at-talk to initiate repair or move forward with the social interaction.

3.4 CA and Multimodality

As previously mentioned, the present study employs a multimodal and micro-analytic analysis to examine L2 test-takers' talk-in-interaction during an assessed group oral discussion in a UK university-affiliated language institute for international students. With the current technological developments, as well as the attainability of video-recorded data, it has become more convenient for CA researchers to examine multimodal practices of participants in face-to-face interactions. This study as well as other CA studies have adopted a multimodal CA approach to investigate the various embodied resources participants utilize to manage their face-to-face interaction, such as gaze direction, hand gestures, including extended palms and pointing, in addition to head movements, including nodding and body posture reconfigurations (Ford and Stickle, 2012; Greer and Potter, 2008; Hazel *et al*., 2014; Mondada, 2007; Mortensen, 2008). The purpose of examining multimodality within CA research is to describe the interrelation between these various embodied resources and talk, as well as how participants orient to the surroundings within their context and documents to jointly produce a coherent social interaction (Mortensen, 2013). In addition, multimodal research provides the researchers with an understanding of how multimodal resources are utilized within an interaction providing a lens on what constitutes regular embodied positioning of multimodal resources during human interaction, also referred to as '*complex multimodal Gestalts*' (Mondada, 2014a, 2014b).

Upon conducting a CA analysis on multimodal data, in addition to examining the verbal practices of talk in a moment-by-moment basis, the participants' temporal, spatial, and interactional properties of the participants' body-visual practices are also examined for how they interplay with talk as well as the courses of action being pursued (Ford and Stickle, 2012). As such, embodied resources may be characterized as being communicative resources that participants employ to create and organize their interaction (Haddington *et al*., 2014). In fact, through the multimodal lens, language is constituted as one of the resources interactants adopt to perform their social interaction in concurrence with the embodied actions though without having 'a priori hierarchy' (Mondada, 2014; 2016a; 2016b).

3.5 The Reliability, Validity and Generalizability of CA Research

With Firth and Wagner (1997) arguing for the need to shift SLA's methodological approaches from primarily conducing 'cognitive' and 'perception-based' research to more Conversation Analytic studies through examining social interaction, it becomes significant to consider issues such as the reliability, validity and generalizability of the findings of CA studies. The question of the reliability of CA studies is crucial, as it entails that researchers collect reliable data recordings as well as display detailed and adequately transcribed transcriptions (Seedhouse, 2005; ten Have, 2007). Though, the issue of the reliability of the recordings and transcripts are usually not considered problematic with CA research as a general practice with CA studies to publish the transcripts of the data with the research findings (Seedhouse, 2005). In addition, with technological advancement, audio and video recorded data are also being included with online research publications for further transparency. This provides any reader with more accessible attainment of the data recordings to scrutinize the analytic procedures an author has adopted and then be able to make their own judgement of the validity of the researcher's analytic claims.

Moreover, another practice CA practitioners tend to follow is that data are commonly presented at data sessions and conferences with transcripts, as has been done with the current study, allowing attendees to further scrutinize the transcript details and the recordings. Furthermore, to ensure the analysis is presented from an emic perspective, various segments of the data from the present research were presented at data sessions at MARG, a Multimodal Analysis Research Group at the School of Education, Communication and Language Sciences, Newcastle University, as well as in various academic conferences and data sessions and workshops. Sharing the data provided highly beneficial feedback on the reading and presentation of my transcripts as well as on my work-in-progress in terms of the analysis of the data. This quality control procedure assists in increasing the reliability of the analytic claims being made.

In addition to ensuring the reliability of a CA study, it is also necessary to ensure its validity. Seedhouse (2005) presents three types of validity associated with CA research: internal, external and ecological validity. Internal validity is concerned with revealing the credibility of the findings. This is achieved through the emic perspective the researcher adopts via examining the minute details within the social interaction which participants portray as being relevant. Also, with CA

practitioners confining themselves to the CA methodology rather than including additional theories to explain an interaction, the researchers adhere to the emic analytic perspective of the interaction. Additionally, as CA generally refuses the notion of invoking contextual details, it is through the participants' orientation to such details that makes these contextual features relevant, and as such maintains the emic analytic perspective of the interaction, adding to the internal validity of the study.

Contrary, external validity is concerned with generalizability, or in other words "the extent to which the findings can be generalized beyond the specific research context" (Seedhouse, 2005, p. 256). Perakyla (1997) believes that generalizability depends on the type of social interaction research. As CA studies generally adopt a micro-level analysis of certain social settings, this analysis may present some generalizable descriptions about the interactional organizations of these settings (Seedhouse, 2005). This is important because interaction is viewed to be "rationally organized in relation to social goals" (ibid.). It is important to note that current CA studies are generally working towards presenting both the micro-level as well as displaying the general social actions by examining the individual cases as well as the machinery that produce these individual cases.

Another validity construct considered in Seedhouse (2005) is ecological validity. This examines whether the findings are actually applicable to peoples' lives. If laboratory experiments are utilized during a social science research, then this tends to hold a weak ecological validity. However, CA studies tend to collect naturally occurring data from various social settings with an interest in examining the interaction from an emic and holistic perspective. In fact, according to Seedhouse (2005, p. 257) "CA studies tend to be exceptionally strong by comparison to other research methodologies in terms of ecological validity".

3.6 Summary

The present chapter has provided a general overview of the relevance of CA as a methodology to the current study. It then presented the ethnomethodological foundations of CA followed by a description of CA's core interactional phenomena including turn-taking, speaker-selection, sequence organization and repair. After that, the chapter discussed the employment of multimodality in CA research followed by a focus on the primary issues of reliability, validity and generalizability of CA research. The next chapter will outline the research design of the current study.

Chapter 4: Research Design

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented a description of Conversation Analysis as a methodology and the rationale for adopting it as an analytic framework for the current study. This chapter pursues with the presentation of this study via providing detailed information on the setting of this research in section 4.2, followed by a description of the participants in section 4.3, as well as the data collection process and ethical considerations that had to be met in section 4.4. The succeeding section, 4.5 provides details on the processes undertaken to transcribe the data and present multimodal transcriptions. Section 4.6 focuses on the data presentation in its final format, while Section 4.7 explains the analytic procedures adopted within this study. These sections assist in demonstrating the processes that led to the analytic findings which will be presented in detail in the subsequent analytic chapters.

4.2 Research Setting

The context of this study was in a university-affiliated language institute that offered both pre-sessional and in-sessional English language courses to international students intending to pursue higher education in a UK university, but were required to enhance their English language proficiency prior to enrolling into a university academic degree program. The data for this study was collected from one of the pre-sessional EAP language courses which focused on preparing L2 learners for university study over a term basis. The L2 learners enrolled into the 'University Study' EAP language program were expected to pass the course demonstrating a sufficient proficiency level, equivalent to an IELTS 6.5 mark prior to gaining an admission into their desired academic degree programs at the university. As the international students enrolled into this EAP language program, their language proficiency was assessed so that they be allocated into their appropriate classes, with proficiency classes ranging between a level 'four' and a level 'eight', with 'eight' being on the higher end of the proficiency spectrum. To provide the international students with an understanding of their proficiency class levels, each class level had been allocated an approximate IELTS and CEFR level, with level 'four' estimating at an IELTS 4.5-5.0 or an A2.2/B1.1 (intermediate) CEFR level; level 'five' at an IELTS 5.0-5.5 or a B1.2/B2.1 (intermediate/upper-

intermediate) CEFR level; level 'six' at an IELTS 5.5-6.0 or a B2.2 (upper-intermediate) CEFR level; level 'seven' at an IELTS 6.0-6.5 or a B2/C1.1 (upper-intermediate/advanced) CEFR level; level 'eight' at an IELTS 6.5-7.0 or a C1.2 (advanced) CEFR level. Upon admission into the program, all international L2 learners were provided with details about their language proficiency levels to assist them in attaining relevant progress.

In addition to identifying the L2 learners' proficiency levels, the gatekeepers provided all the learners at the commencement of the term with a handbook that included a general overview about living within the UK, with a particular emphasis on the city they were residing within in order to enhance the students' cultural adjustments. The handbook also presented the aims of the academic program, as well as the intended learning outcomes expected for each class level per language skill (see Appendix B for details on expected learning outcomes for the speaking skill per proficiency level) as well as detailed information on how L2 learners may enhance their English language skills during in and out of class hours. Furthermore, the handbook was a resource for L2 learners displaying the assessment criteria the examiners were going to follow during their assessment of the learners' proficiency in the various skills, including the oral assessment criteria for the end of term oral exam.

As part of the end of term assessment requirement for the 'University Study' EAP language course, all enrolled L2 learners were expected to undertake a three-part speaking assessment within a group comprising 3 or 4 test-takers. Each three-part speaking assessment revolved around one particular theme. The assessment commenced with a group discussion which lasted 3 or 4 minutes, depending on the group size, without providing test-takers any preparation time (the focus of the current study). This was followed by a situation and task part lasting 6 or 8 minutes, depending on group size, with a 7 minute preparation time, in which test-takers were expected to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of three sets of options that had been presented on the assessment card, and attempt to reach an agreement. The oral assessment concluded with the examiner addressing each test-taker individually with one theme-related question whilst providing 2 minutes for the response. In total, each group was allocated forty-five minutes, with the complete speaking test ranging between 25-30 minutes depending on group size, with the remainder time being allocated

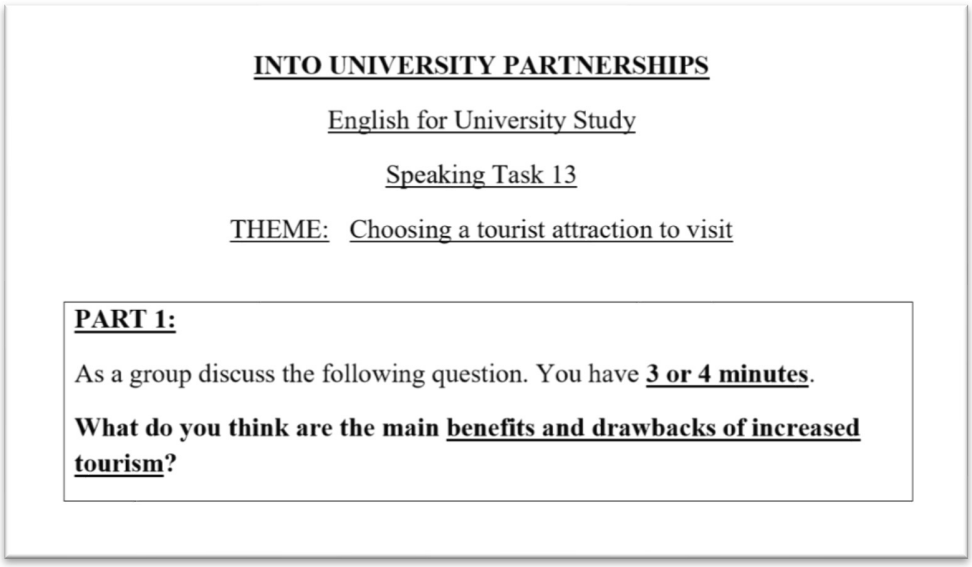
to the examiners to consolidate and agree on a mark for each of the test-takers and to make the necessary arrangements to prepare for the following examination group.

Another assessment procedure undertaken by the language institute was that students were informed that their oral assessments would be video recorded for reference. As such, as the learners practiced in their classes near the assessment time, video cameras were assembled near each group and recorded their in-class practice sessions to get the L2 learners acquainted with speaking in the presence of a camera. Moreover, the L2 learners were made aware of their group members the week prior to the assessment, who shared their same proficiency classes, to provide them with an opportunity to become more acquainted and to practice together if they desired at their own time. However, the specified topics that each group was going to get was not provided, though, all learners were informed that their topics for discussion would relate to one of the five main themes they had encountered during their study. Nevertheless, four main themes emerged within the collected data of the oral assessments as presented in Table 4.1. Table 4.1 also presents the topics for discussion presented to the L2 test-takers for the first part of the oral assessment, the group discussion part, which is the central focus of this study. It is worth noting that the nature of the question prompts used for the same discussion task in the group-oral-assessments slightly varied. This is mainly observed in the fourth prompt relating to volunteer work, as it not only presents double questions, but it also requires descriptive responses unlike the first three topics for discussion (Leaper and Riazi, 2014). However, despite such variance, the data relating to the interactional work of an enabler emerged within the four types of prompts. Figure 4.1 is a sample displaying how the prompt questions appear on the topic-card as presented to the test-takers.

Table 4.1 Themes & Topics for Discussion for Part One of the Oral Assessment

No.	Theme	Group Discussion Questions – (Part One)
1	Choosing a tourist attraction to visit	What do you think are the main benefits and drawbacks of increased tourism?
2	Class Representative	What positive qualities/characteristics are important in a student class representative?
3	Starting a new business	What do you think are the main problems when starting a new business?
4	Volunteer Work	What is volunteer work? Can you give any examples of volunteer work that people do?

Figure 4.1 Sample of the Assessment Topic-Card Presented to L2 Test-Takers for Part One: Group Discussion Part



INTO UNIVERSITY PARTNERSHIPS

English for University Study

Speaking Task 13

THEME: Choosing a tourist attraction to visit

PART 1:

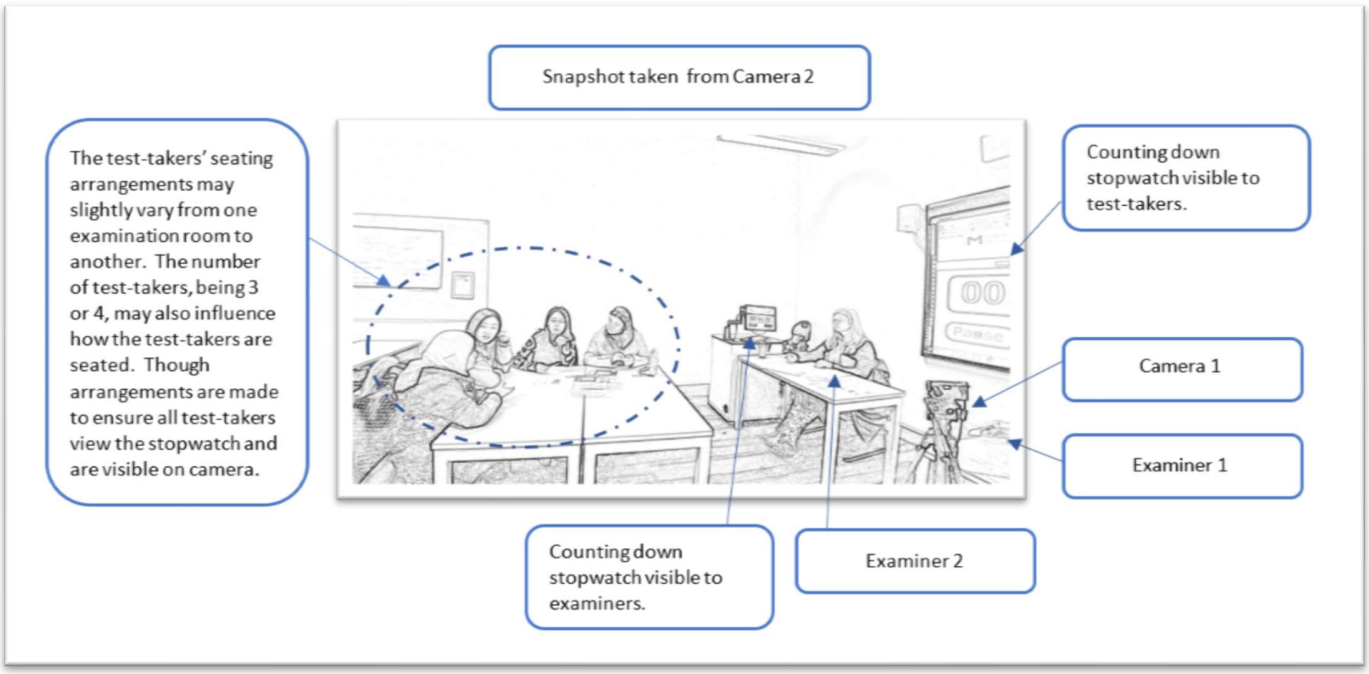
As a group discuss the following question. You have **3 or 4 minutes**.

What do you think are the main benefits and drawbacks of increased tourism?

As the L2 test-takers entered the examination room, they were encountered by two examiners who were not their teachers. With the examiners distributing their roles amongst each other, one was responsible for directing each test-taker to their specified seat. After the test-takers had been seated, the same first examiner introduced him/herself and his/her colleague to the test-

takers and asked the test-takers to do likewise, by presenting their name and their class number to confirm their identity. Then, the examiner explained the procedure of the speaking test followed by a distribution of the topic-cards to every test-taker to begin part one of the oral assessment. This was followed by the examiner reading the discussion question twice to the test-takers and setting their allocated amount of time, 3 or 4 minutes, depending on their group size, 3 or 4 test-takers. On the other hand, the other examiner was responsible for ensuring all equipment, such as the video and audio recorders, were switched on as well as starting and stopping the counting down stopwatch which was publicly displayed for all test-takers to see on the white board. See Figure 4.2 for visual details. With the beginning of each part of the oral assessment, both examiners were responsible for the assessment of the test-takers.

Figure 4.2 Sample of the Classroom Layout during the Group Oral Assessment



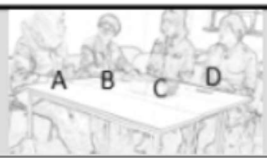
4.3 Participants

The participants in this study were international students enrolled in a pre-sessional EAP language course. A total of 71 international students of mixed nationalities, such as China, Saudi Arabia, Angola, Kazakhstan, etc., and from both genders participated in this research (see Table 4.2 for details on the number of participants, their genders and nationalities). The participating students were completing their second term of study in the 'University Study' pre-sessional EAP course at the university-affiliated language institute. Upon passing the course, the participants were to pursue into diverse disciplines and academic degrees and qualifications, ranging from a Bachelor degree, to a Master's degree as well as a PhD. This indicates that the participating L2 learners also held a wide age range. Furthermore, the participants had diverse proficiency levels as they were distributed between levels 'four' and 'seven', with no learners in this second term having attained a level 'eight' proficiency level. In total, 19 groups distributed across the proficiency level classrooms agreed to take part in the research. Table 4.3 provides detailed information about the characteristics of each participating group, such as: their proficiency levels, number of test-takers per group, test-takers' nationalities, gender, seating arrangements, as well as groups involving test-takers demonstrating the interactional phenomenon of an *enabler*.

Table 4.2 Participants' Nationalities and Proficiency Levels

Nationality	No. of Participants	Gender		Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Level 7	Total
		Male	Female					
Chinese	39	19	20	10	22	3	4	39
Saudi	16	11	5	3	10	1	2	16
Thai	4	3	1	2	2	-	-	4
Angolan	4	3	1	-	3	-	1	4
Kazakhstani	3	1	2	-	2	-	-	2
Kuwaiti	2	1	1	-	2	-	-	2
Iraqi	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	1
Not Specified	2	1	1	1	1	-	-	2
Total	71	41	30	17	42	4	7	71
		71						

Table 4.3 Participants' Characteristics per Test-Taking Group

Group No.	Total No. of Participants	Proficiency Level	No. of Test-Takers per Group		Nationality	Gender	Group's Seating Arrangement	Enabler's Seating Position
1	1	Level 4	4	A	Iraqi	Male		-
	2			B	Chinese	Male		-
	3			C	Chinese	Female		Mid-right
	4			D	Chinese	Female		-
2	5	Level 4	3	A	Chinese	Female		-
	6			B	Thai	Male		-
	7			C	Chinese	Male		Right
3	8	Level 4	3	A	Saudi	Male		Left
	9			B	Chinese	Female		-
	10			C	Chinese	Female		-
4	11	Level 4	4	A	Saudi	Male		-
	12			B	Chinese	Female		-
	13			C	Saudi	Male		Mid-right
	14			D	Chinese	Male		-
5	15	Level 4	3	A	Chinese	Female		-
	16			B	Thai	Female		-
	17			C	-	Male		-
6	18	Level 5	3	A	Kazakhstani	Female		-
	19			B	Chinese	Male		-
	20			C	Chinese	Male		Right
7	21	Level 5	4	A	Saudi	Male		-
	22			B	Saudi	Male		Mid-left
	23			C	Chinese	Male		-
	24			D	Thai	Male		-
8	25	Level 5	4	A	Saudi	Male		Left
	26			B	Thai	Male		-
	27			C	Chinese	Male		Mid-right
	28			D	Chinese	Male		-
9	29	Level 5	4	A	Saudi	Male		-
	30			B	Chinese	Female		-
	31			C	Chinese	Female		-
	32			D	Kuwaiti	Male		Right ×2
10	33	Level 5	4	A	Saudi	Female		-
	34			B	-	Female		-
	35			C	Chinese	Female		-
	36			D	Chinese	Male		-

Group No.	Total No. of Participants	Proficiency Level	No. of Test-Takers per Group		Nationality	Gender	Group's Seating Arrangement	Enabler's Seating Position
11	37	Level 5	4	A	Saudi	Male		-
	38			B	Chinese	Female		-
	39			C	Angolan	Male		-
	40			D	Saudi	Female		-
12	41	Level 5	4	A	Angolan	Male		-
	42			B	Saudi	Male		-
	43			C	Chinese	Male		-
	44			D	Chinese	Male		-
13	45	Level 5	4	A	Kuwaiti	Female		-
	46			B	Chinese	Female		-
	47			C	Chinese	Female		-
	48			D	Chinese	Male		-
14	49	Level 5	4	A	Saudi	Female		-
	50			B	Chinese	Female		-
	51			C	Chinese	Female		-
	52			D	Chinese	Female		-
15	53	Level 5	3	A	Chinese	Male		-
	54			B	Angolan	Male		-
	55			C	Chinese	Male		-
16	56	Level 5	4	A	Saudi	Male		-
	57			B	Kazakhstani	Female		-
	58			C	Chinese	Female		-
	59			D	Chinese	Male		-
17	60	Level 6	4	A	Saudi	Male		-
	61			B	Chinese	Male		-
	62			C	Chinese	Female		-
	63			D	Chinese	Female		-
18	64	Level 7	4	A	Kazakhstani	Male		-
	65			B	Chinese	Male		-
	66			C	Saudi	Female		-
	67			D	Chinese	Female		-
19	68	Level 7	4	A	Saudi	Female		-
	69			B	Chinese	Male		-
	70			C	Angolan	Female		-
	71			D	Chinese	Male		-

In addition to providing a general overview about the participating test-taking groups in Table 4.3, Table 4.4 progresses by displaying a detailed summary about the test-taking groups involving an *enabler*, via exhibiting the number of groups holding the interactional phenomenon of an *enabler*, their proficiency levels, number of test-takers, gender and the number of enabler occurrences per proficiency level. It is important to note that upon gaining permission from the L2 test-takers, they were asked for their demographic information for the purpose of obtaining an overview about the participants' backgrounds and proficiency levels. Contextual details regarding the participants' nationalities will be referenced to within the analysis when the participants treat it as relevant in their interaction (Seedhouse, 2004).

Table 4.4 Summary Demonstrating Characteristics of Groups Involving *Enablers*

	Proficiency Level	No. of Groups with Enablers	No. of Test-Takers per Group Size		Male	Female	Total No. of Test-Takers	No. of Occurrences per Level
			3 Test-Takers	4 Test-Takers				
	Level 4	4	2	2	8	6	14	4
	Level 5	4	1	3	12	3	15	6
Total	2 Proficiency levels	8 Groups	3	5	20	9	29	10 Occurrences

4.4 Data Recording and Ethical Considerations

To be capable of recording the oral assessment data, I contacted the gatekeeper for the particular EAP language course at the language institute, met with him and explained the purpose of the research. An initial permission was granted to collect and receive a second copy of the video recordings made by the gatekeepers if the L2 learners also grant their permission. As such, I was provided with permission to meet the L2 learners to inform them about the purpose of the research to obtain their permission. The L2 leaners were provided with an information sheet (see Appendix C), a consent form (see Appendix D) and were provided with an opportunity to ask questions. After having collected the consent forms from the learners who agreed to take part, and prior to keeping

the participants' original consent forms, I presented them along with their copies to the gatekeepers to provide an opportunity of referencing if the gatekeeper wished; after which I recollected the original copies and provided the gatekeepers with their copies to keep. As the L2 learners' permission was granted prior to them being allocated into their groups, it was not until the week prior to the assessment that I was aware of the number of groups granting permission. Unless all members of the groups granted permission, their data were not collected. The gatekeeper as well as the examiners were fully aware of the groups participating in the study, and any group member opting not to take part even after the oral assessment had the opportunity to inform the examiners of their decision or inform the researcher for their data to be excluded from the study. As such, only groups where all the group members provided consent have been included in the analysis.

After gaining the L2 learners' permission, I also met with the teachers/examiners and received their consent. As there were numerous assessment groups, and a limited number of examiners, the assessments were distributed over two days. Exams lasted from 10:00 am to 4:00 pm on the first day, and from 9:00 am to 1:00 pm on the second day. Although the examiners had some training on how to rate the test-takers, the examiners and the gatekeeper met again on the first day of the assessments prior to starting the exams to further discuss the exam procedures and to hold a practice rating session. I was also requested to attend the meeting to explain to the examiners how to operate the digital equipment, including the different video cameras and the audio recorders. To ensure the examiners video and audio record the oral assessments, a sheet was provided to every examiner with a simple checklist to follow along with how to operate the different cameras and the audio recorders (see Figure 4.3 for images of the video and audio recorders used during data collection, and Appendix E for a copy of the check list provided to the examiners and how to operate the recording devices). This was essential as I was not going to be present in the assessment room to maintain the natural test-setting and not to influence the interaction between the test-takers. Moreover, although the test-takers were aware that they were being video recorded, this was a natural testing procedure the L2 learners had practiced during their classroom practice sessions. As such, as a researcher I was not physically present in the assessment rooms which minimizes the possibility of the test-takers' interaction being influenced by 'observer's paradox' (Labov, 1972), the belief that the test-takers are behaving in a manner that is different because of being part of the research. In other words, the test-takers' interaction being recorded is deemed to be as 'naturally occurring' as possible (Psathas, 1995, p.45) regardless of

the presence of the video recorders. Furthermore, it is worth noting that according to Goodwin (1981) participants involved in talk-in-interaction despite being recorded, observed or neither of these, generally behave in a manner as if they are being observed by others. Thus, participants tend to organize their social interaction and talk in a form that relates to their interactants' talk and interaction.

Figure 4.3 Images of Video & Audio Recorders Used during Data Collection Procedure

On the other hand, as previously mentioned, with the gatekeepers making video recordings of the oral assessments of every group for their reference, only one additional video camera was preassembled per classroom to capture the test-takers' interaction from a different angle. The video cameras were preassembled in the required assessment rooms during the presence of the examiners and prior to the presence of the test-takers. Every room was also equipped with an audio recorder, which the examiners turned on and off when they were preparing for a group or upon the completion of a group-oral-assessment. The examiners chose this option to provide them and the L2 learners with privacy as they discussed the test-takers' scores after the oral assessment. In fact, the majority of the test-takers agreed to take part upon being informed that their scores would not be collected. Moreover, the gatekeeper had also agreed on the collection of the oral assessment data if that did not entail the request of the test-takers' scores, which the language institute treats with extreme confidentiality. Nevertheless, as this study examines the interactional practices that arise between the test-takers during the group-oral-assessments, obtaining the test-takers' scores was not required.

Alternatively, to recollect my equipment and the recordings of the oral assessment groups, I requested permission from the examiners to re-enter the examination rooms. Upon being granted permission, I recollected the video and audio recorders, downloaded the files into separate folders for each examination group, changed the batteries for the audio recorders and ensured the cameras were recharged for the next day as well as having the camera cables ready to maintain a continuous power circuit while recording. After two days of assessment recordings of 19 groups in 2016, I had a collection of 9 hours and 5 minutes of the full three-part oral assessments. I met with the gatekeeper again shortly after the examinations to collect their copies of the 19 participating groups as well as receive copies of the assessment documents.

The participating L2 learners were aware that their identity would remain anonymized via the use of pseudonyms. They were also informed that video recordings would be edited to maintain their anonymity. *Wondershare Filmora*, a video-editing software was used to edit the video recordings. Permission by the participants was granted to use the video recordings in the thesis as well as any academic presentations and papers, and to share the anonymized recordings in academic contexts such as conferences and workshops. The gatekeeper provided a similar consent (see Appendix F) for the use of the oral assessment data and the assessment documents. Thus, as the researcher, I have collected the original consent form and provided the gatekeeper with a copy. Though, due to the sensitivity of the recordings in being an assessment, an agreement was made with the gatekeeper that I may not distribute the video-recordings to a third-party or allow others in gaining individual access to the recorded data. As such, the video-recorded data may not be accessible to the readers of the innovative journals incorporating video-recorded data such as *Social Interaction- Video-Based Studies of Human Sociality* journal. Yet, as the inclusion of video-recorded data has not yet been established as a practice within CA journals, this places an extra emphasis on having accurate and detailed transcriptions that provide the reader with a deep sense of the interaction taking place via also incorporating many snapshots of the interaction, which the current research has attempted to include.

4.5 Transcription

After numerous viewings of the complete 3-part oral assessment recordings for all 19 groups, and as I began to transcribe the first part of the oral assessments to present in a data session,

I was encouraged during the data session to pursue with my focus on the first part of the oral assessment as it seemed to emerge interesting interactional patterns from the assessed group discussions that provide no preparation time for the test-takers. In addition, as transcribing nine hours of recorded data may not be possible within the time frame allocated to complete this research, these reasons led to my increased focus on the group oral discussion part of the test. I continued with my detailed CA transcription of the group discussion part for all 19 groups, adopting Gail Jefferson's transcription conventions to transcribe verbal utterances. Such a focus provided me with a total of one hour and nine minutes of data to work with. Initial transcripts were produced using *Transana*, a transcription and coding software that assists in producing CA transcripts for video recorded data following Jefferson's transcription conventions (see Appendix G). As this study is primarily concerned with analyzing L2 leaners' talk-in-interaction during an oral assessment, it was highly significant that I "write down not only *what* has been said, but also *how* it has been said" (ten Have, 2007, p. 94) as well as capturing the embodied actions that emerged during the interaction. To transcribe the embodied actions, Mondada's (2014) multimodal transcription conventions (see Appendix A) were adopted to enhance the analytical understanding of the observations being made in the data recordings (Mondada, 2007). After having saved the *Transana* transcripts in a word format, these were then further enhanced and edited with Mondada's transcription conventions to include the varied embodied symbols per test-taker as well as the inclusion of snapshots to provide a more holistic reading of the transcripts and the interaction taking place between the test-takers. Achieving the final transcripts required numerous months of continued watching and listening to display the fine-tuned details onto the transcripts.

Furthermore, as the focus was on investigating the interactional patterns that emerge from the group oral discussions, identifying any phenomena required that I continually update the transcripts, which took months to produce, since transcription is the first stage of the analysis process (ten Have, 2007). In addition, I had to continuously view the video-recorded data and relate them to the transcriptions while going through a process of unmotivated looking. Utilizing Seedhouse's (2004) questions "why this, in this way, right now?" as a guide, I took notes of what appeared to display a unique interactional phenomenon during the assessment, as well as noticing the employment of the multimodal resources the test-takers utilized to achieve the action. Collections of the video recorded data were then made for the varied interactional patterns using *Wondershare Filmora*, a video editing software, which made it more convenient to edit the video

recordings for further anonymity. Though, to ensure the reliability and accuracy of the transcriptions, the transcripts went under a vigorous quality control process, as many CA transcriptions undertake, via sharing the transcripts accompanied with the video-recorded data publicly in data sessions and conferences, with other CA and non-CA researchers, as well as with my supervisor who checked several drafts of my transcripts, placing these transcripts under several levels of quality control procedures. In fact, to ensure the accurate representation of embodiment within the transcripts, video-recorded data were viewed with sound as well as being on mute to maintain an orientation towards the participants' embodied interactions and ensure their accurate representation in the transcripts. As previously mentioned, with transcription acting as the initial stage for the analytic process, transcripts were employed for progressing with the analytic understanding of the interactional process emerging from within the assessed group oral discussions, while being continuously scrutinized and updated until reaching their final draft. The present transcripts have been produced with highly detailed and up-to-date multimodal conventions, which will be investigated further in the subsequent section.

4.5.1 *Multimodal Transcriptions*

As embodiment is considered one of the resources participants employ during their face-to-face interaction, CA researchers have adopted various means to transcribe embodiment in accordance with the participants' talk to provide a detailed transcript that assists in examining both the verbal and visual sequential analysis of an interaction. This is further supported by Mortensen (2013, p. 1) in a statement:

> Ranging from loose glosses of participants' movements to detailed transcription and systematic sequential analysis of gaze, gesture and other visual information (most often) in relation to talk, they all address the importance of visual aspects *for* participants *in* social interaction; that is, social interaction is intrinsically *multimodal* (italics in original).

Nevertheless, the inclusion of embodiment into the transcripts entails the researcher to maintain their emic perspective in the analysis of both the verbal and embodied resources being oriented to by the participants during the face-to-face social interaction (Mondada, 2016). Mondada (2016) further argues that with the presence of multiple multimodal resources that participants orient to, it is essential to consider all the relevant resources without prioritizing one

resource over the other. In addition, it is the participants' orientation to a resource that reveals its relevance during the interaction, while the interactional context as well as the method of data collection play a role in making publicly visible what resources the co-participants demonstrate as interactionally relevant. The current study has adopted Mondada's (2014) multimodal conventions of transcription (see Appendix A) to represent the varied multimodal resources utilized by the participants within their assessed interaction.

Current studies referencing the role of embodiment between L2 test-takers have mainly adopted a descriptive approach to multimodality via explaining embodied interaction with words into the CA transcripts (e.g. Gan, 2010; Gan *et al*., 2009; Leyland *et al*., 2016; Luk, 2010; Nakatsuhara, 2009; 2011). Whereas, those incorporating images of the interaction in addition to referencing them on the transcripts are highly minimal, which is an approach this study has also adopted (e.g. Gan and Davison, 2011; Greer and Potter, 2008). Transcripts in Leyland *et al*. (2016) revealed the various embodied resources a teaching assistant (TA) employed, such as gaze, head nods and hand gestures to manage and invite a group of novice test-takers into the assessed discussion and attempt to expand their talk. The test-takers' embodied displays had also been incorporated into the transcripts to reveal the students' alignment and agreement with the TA's talk.

Alternatively, Gan and Davison's (2011) study is one of the studies on L2 group-oral-assessments implementing images into their data. Though a more detailed analysis of the study reveals that the embodied interaction was represented within the transcripts via descriptive and exploratory terms. As of the two incorporated images, they only displayed the physical appearance of the participants, their seating arrangements and one snapshot of their interaction. Nevertheless, the transcripts provided detailed embodied practices that had been employed by the test-takers. This is to assist the researchers in examining possible variances between the higher and lower-scoring test-takers' usage of gestures during a group-oral-assessment interaction.

However, one CA study exposing the detailed embodied interactions between test-takers in L2 group-oral-assessments is Greer and Potter's (2008) study. In their analysis of the interplay

between talk and embodiment, the authors incorporated images to display the test-takers' utilization of varied resources during their interaction, such as gaze, gesture and body posture. The images not only assisted in visually recognizing the shape of the embodied displays mentioned in the transcripts, but they also revealed how the co-participants oriented towards each other's embodiment as they managed the turn-taking amongst the group members. A similar approach has been undertaken in the current research, producing highly detailed and up-to-date transcription notations that follow Mondada's (2014) multimodal transcription conventions and adopt Mondada's (2016) argument that when participants utilize multiple multimodal resources it is important to treat all resources as being relevant without prioritizing one over another. Though, the issue of readability of complex transcripts rises with participants employing varied multimodal resources. To maintain readability of the multimodal transcripts, a decision was made to include those resources participants oriented to and treated as relevant during the interaction, while prioritizing displays of embodiment that emerged from: the unsuccessful turn-transfer attempts, the enabler's embodied attempts to facilitate a successful next-speaker-selection and the enabled participant's orientation towards the facilitation attempt. Nevertheless, to provide the reader with a detailed analytical understanding of the interaction, the analytical commentary may refer to those multimodal details that have not been presented within the transcripts.

4.5.2 *Data Analysis Procedures*

As previously mentioned, the process of identifying the unique interactional phenomenon of the 'e*nabler*', emerging from within group-oral-assessment interactions required the continuous watching, listening and note-taking of the interactional phenomenon via the process of 'unmotivated looking'. When the presence of the interactional role of the '*enabler*' was established as a *non-primary-speaker* who attempts to facilitate struggling next-speaker-selections, it became essential to identify when does a test-taker adopt such a role, how does the *enabler* achieve the facilitation of next-speaker selections, and how do other test-takers orient to such an interaction. The detailed transcripts along with the concurrent watching of the data demonstrated how the interactional role of the *enabler* was achieved. The data revealed a total of 10 occurrences that displayed the *enabler's* interactional work in attempting to ensure a platform is provided to all group members to display a speech sample during the assessed group discussion. The 10

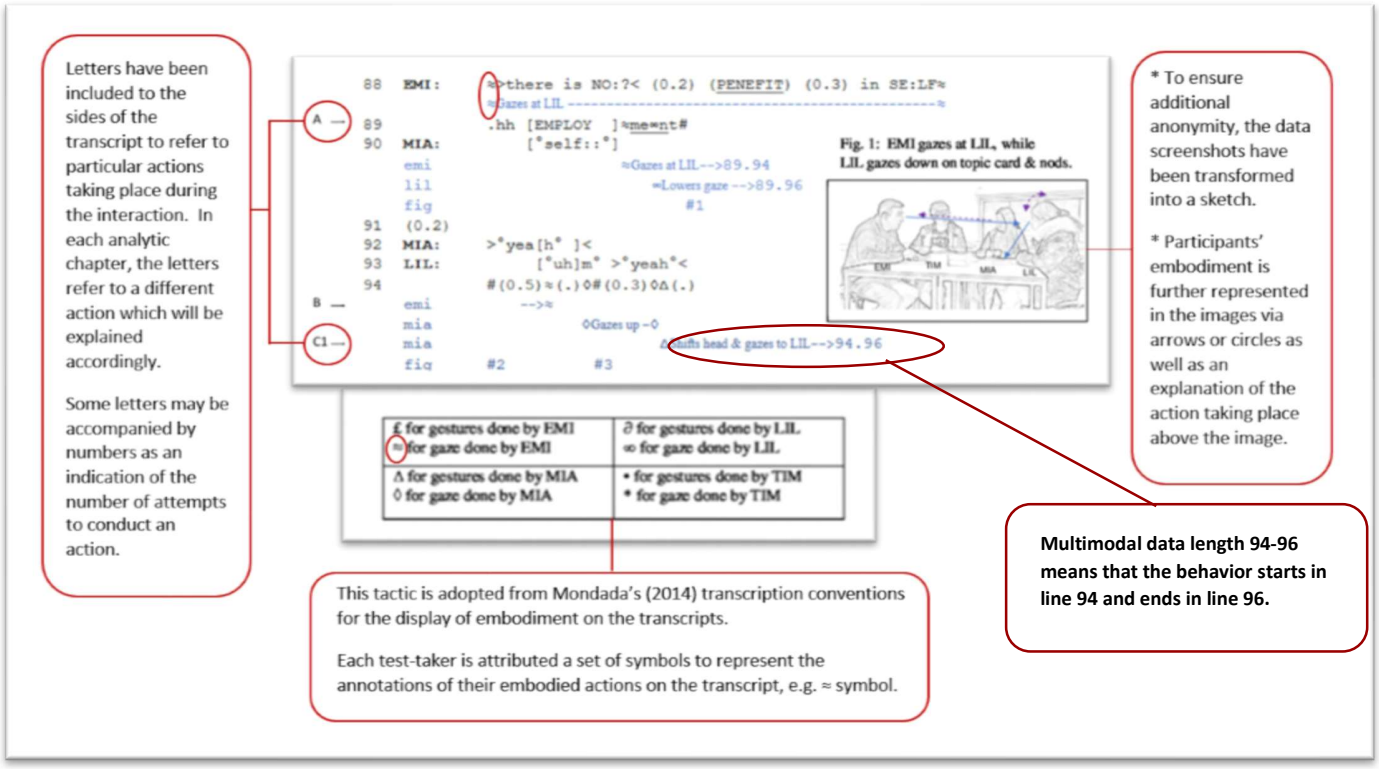
occurrences emerged from eight out of the 19 groups, in other words, from nearly half of the groups, and specifically from the lower-proficiency group levels, levels 'four' and 'five'.

It is worth noting, to present a comprehensive analysis of the phenomenon, and due to holding an interest in understanding the role of embodiment in facilitating next-speaker-selections, the study explored how the test-takers, including the *enabler*, oriented to their participants' embodiment as well as how the test-takers employed the multimodal resources to facilitate their interaction and ensure a successful next-speaker-selection. It is also important to highlight that although 10 occurrences may seem a limited number of data, the detailed micro-analytic investigation of the participants' interaction from a multimodal perspective along with the restricted word limit on this thesis provide a reasonable amount of space to closely analyze each encounter in detail to display the 'machinery' (Seedhouse, 2004) the *enabler* as well as the other test-takers use to achieve successful next-speaker-selections.

4.6 Data Presentation

With the discovery of a unique interactional role in next-speaker-selection practices, collections were made, and the term '*enabler*' was established to refer to *a non-primary-speaker* assisting struggling or delayed next-speaker-selections in order to provide other test-takers with an opportunity to gain a speech platform prior to exam termination. This interesting phenomenon led to a further investigation to examine when, why and how does this role emerge during the goal-oriented group discussions. This analytic process was reflected in the transcripts in terms of their layout, the presentation of the embodied resources the test-takers oriented to and treated as meaningful in constructing their interaction, as well as the presentation of the visual snapshots which represent the annotations of the different multimodal actions produced by the test-takers. Furthermore, a letter coding system has also been incorporated into the transcripts to enhance their readability and analytic understanding. Figure 4.4 displays a sample transcript layout as presented in this study.

Figure 4.4 A Sample of the Transcription Layout Presented in this Study



4.7 Summary

This chapter has examined the setting of this study, the participants, as well as the procedures undertaken to obtain data collections of an end-of-term oral assessment in an EAP language course for international L2 learners. The ethical considerations were also presented. Moreover, details about the layout of the transcripts have been presented in addition to the procedures undertaken to attain the final transcription layout were explained. The chapter also presents the different data collection categories along with the procedures undertaken to conduct the analysis. The next three chapters present the analytic findings related to the enabler's interactional work in facilitating successful next-speaker-selections.

Analysis Chapters

Introduction

Second language group oral proficiency assessment formats are viewed as conversation-like contexts which provide L2 test-takers with the opportunity to demonstrate their interactional skills though they also hold some interactional challenges for the test-takers (Fulcher, 2003; Greer and Potter, 2008; Sandlund *et al.*, 2016). One challenge facing the multiparty peer-driven discussions is managing successful turn-allocations amongst the test-taking group members (Greer and Potter, 2008; Leyland *et al.*, 2016). As assessed group discussions are time-restricted, the test-takers may employ distinctive forms of next-speaker-selection practices when struggles in turn-transitions arise to ensure a platform is provided to every test-taker to display a speech sample for assessment prior to time termination.

This research reveals how test-takers in group-oral-assessment discussions enable co-participants in gaining primary-speakership when struggles to gain or allocate next-primary speakership arise. *Non-primary-speaking* participants may act as facilitators to the turn-allocation system, for the purpose of enabling the struggling turn-transfers to become successful. These members adopt the interactional role of an *enabler*, changing through their actions the sequential organization of the turn-allocation practices to select a next-primary-speaker in the L2 group-oral-assessments. The emerging role of the *enabler* and the distinctive next-speaker-selection practices institutionalize the nature of the talk in these assessed L2 group oral discussions. The research also demonstrates that the role of the *enabler* is locally managed, not pre-allocated. In fact, the sequential analysis displays that the variant turn-allocation practices that arise from the *enabler's* mediating actions are brought into existence from the collaborative interactional work of the participants. The test-takers' orientation to these differently managed next-speaker-selection practices of the *enabler* are actually a display of the participants' orientation to the institutional goals of the discussions, in which test-takers are to display successful next-speaker selections and ensure a platform is provided to every test-taker to present a speech sample for assessment.

The following three chapters will investigate ten occurrences which display the verbal and embodied interactional practices of the *enabler* in assisting struggling attempts to achieve successful next-primary-speakership selections through a detailed turn-by-turn sequential analysis. The analysis will also display the orientation practices of the participating test-takers and their collaborative work in making the enabling process successful. The analytical chapters are ordered following the turn-allocation rule preferences for next-speaker selections as proposed by Sacks *et al*. (1974). Chapter five will analyze the *enabler's* practices in assisting current speakers in making successful next-speaker selections. Chapter six will investigate the *enabler's* interactional work in assisting struggling self-selections to become successful. On the other hand, chapter seven will investigate the turn-allocation methods of the *enabler* to create a platform for a fellow test-taker to gain the floor amongst the competing voices as a means of ensuring equal participating rights amongst the test-takers to display their speech sample for assessment prior to the exam termination.

Chapter 5: Analysis. Facilitating Other-Selection

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will display different tactics that an enabler employs to enable a successful other-selection. The term *enabler* has been used to describe the actions that a non-speaking participant employs to assist another non-speaking co-participant in gaining primary-speakership.

To enable a successful turn-transfer from the current-speaker to another test-taker the enabler self-selects only to select or prompt the selection of another participant without presenting his stance on the given topic for discussion. This entails the enabler's immediate deselection of themselves to provide the intended recipient with a right to the floor and have their turn-at-talk.

To assist the reader in understanding the sequence of actions in the transcripts, the transcripts have been marked with letters from (A to D) each referring to a specific action, as demonstrated below in the sample excerpt, Excerpt 1. In some cases, a number will be added to the letter to display the number of attempts for a specific action. The present key is relevant to the first three excerpts of enabling a successful other-selection. As the fourth excerpt (Excerpt 4) displays a different tactic to enabling a current-speaker to make a successful next-selection, its coding system will be displayed later. As Excerpt 1 illustrates, letter (A) – refers to the first action in the sequence of attempting to select a next-primary speaker. (B) – displays the failed attempt to gain the selected participant as the next primary speaker. (C) – displays the second selection attempt, produced by the enabler. (D) – presents the uptake by the enabled recipient.

Excerpt 1: Starting a Business - "and you?"

```
      88  EMI:    ≈>there is NO:?< (0.2) (PENEFIT) (0.3) in SE:LF≈
                  ≈Gazes at LIL ----------------------------------------≈
A →   89          .hh [EMPLOY  ]≈me∞nt#
      90  MIA:        [°self::°]
          emi                   ≈Gazes at LIL-->89.94
          lil                     ∞Lowers gaze -->89.96
          fig                       #1
      91  (0.2)
      92  MIA:    >°yea[h° ]<
      93  LIL:         [°uh]m° >°yeah°<
      94          #(0.5)≈(.)◊#(0.3)◊Δ(.)
B →       emi       -->≈
          mia             ◊Gazes up -◊
C1 →      mia                   ΔShifts head & gazes to LIL-->94.96
          fig     #2        #3
C2 →  95  MIA:    >°an∞d YOU?:°<#=
          lil       -->∞
          fig               #4
D →   96  LIL:    =>and< (.) I THINKΔ ↑THE: (.) bi-↑BIG ISSUE IS:=uha
          mia                 -->Δ
      97  LIL:    (.) MO:ney: (.) >you know?<
```

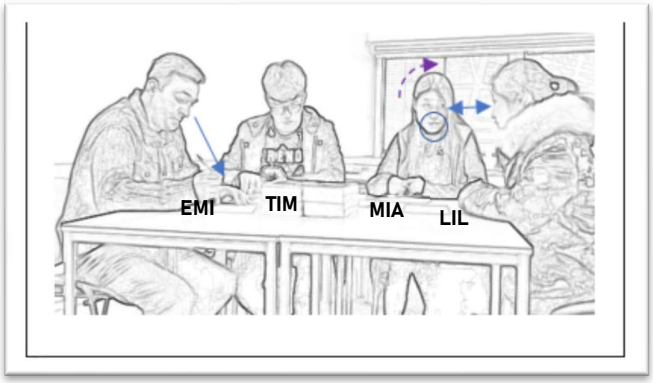
£ for gestures done by EMI ≈ for gaze done by EMI	∂ for gestures done by LIL ∞ for gaze done by LIL
Δ for gestures done by MIA ◊ for gaze done by MIA	• for gestures done by TIM * for gaze done by TIM

In addition to adopting a letter coding system to enhance comprehension of the transcripts, visually highlighted excerpts have also been included after the analytic commentary of each excerpt within each analytic chapter. This is to create a color-coded analytic reading of the interactional work that has led to the emergence of the interactional role of the *enabler* during the assessed discussions. The visually highlighted excerpts also create a smoother connection between the participants' talk and their relevant embodied actions via highlighting the related multimodal interactions in a similar color-coded scheme. As the visually highlighted excerpts are also letter-coded, they perform as a color-coded analytic summary of the interactional work emerging within the excerpts through highlighting the problematic turn-transfers in red, the enabler's multimodal interactional work in green, and the enabled participant's orientation and uptake in orange.

5.2 Enabled Speaker-Transitions during Group Oral Assessments

This section presents the analysis of three distinct cases of a *non-primary-speaker* facilitating a struggling other-selection to ensure a successful turn-transfer to a next-speaker.

5. 2.1 *Non-Primary Speaker Enables Other-Selection through Gaze & "and you?"*



Setting the Scene:

Excerpt 2 displays the collaborative work amongst a group of test-takers during their group-oral-assessment in enabling a struggling other-selection. The excerpt reveals how one *non-primary speaking* test-taker enables a turn-transfer to another test-taker via employing her gaze and a direct address "and you", after the primary-speaker's attempt failed to make the other-selection. The participants in this group-oral-assessment are Emir (EMI) from Iraq, Tim, Mia and Lily (LIL) from China (See figure above). According to a previous assessment carried out by the language institute, these participants have been assessed as holding a level 'four' proficiency level in English out of 'eight' on the language assessment spectrum. As a group of four, the test-takers have been assigned four minutes to discuss the topic question 'What do you think are the main problems when starting a new business'. Excerpt 2 begins at 2 minutes and 44 seconds into the discussion. Just prior to the excerpt, Emir was searching for a term that describes part of the difficulties people face when starting a new business. Tim and Mia come in to support Emir by offering him possible terms that he could use in his explanation to progress with the discussion. Emir includes the term Mia provides into his sentence and continues to speak for an additional few seconds before he displays his opinion about the lack of benefits to being self-employed in line 88 in the excerpt.

Excerpt 2: Starting a Business - "and you?"
Participants: EMIr, TIM, MIA, LILy

```
     88   EMI:    ≈>there is NO:?< (0.2) (PENEFIT) (0.3) in SE:LF≈
                  ≈Gazes at LIL ----------------------------------------------≈
A →  89           .hh [EMPLOY  ]≈me∞nt#
     90   MIA:        [°self::°]
          emi                    ≈Gazes at LIL-->89.94
          lil                       ∞Lowers gaze -->89.96
          fig                          #1
     91   (0.2)
     92   MIA:    >°yea[h° ]<
     93   LIL:         [°uh]m° >°yeah°<
     94           #(0.5)≈(.)◊#(0.3)◊Δ(.)
B →       emi        -->≈
          mia              ◊Gazes up -◊
C1 →      mia                   ΔShifts head & gazes to LIL-->94.96
          fig      #2          #3
C2 →  95  MIA:     >°an∞d YOU?:°<#=
          lil       -->∞
          fig                 #4
D →   96  LIL:     =>and< (.) I THINKΔ ↑THE: (.) bi-↑BIG ISSUE IS:=uha
          mia                  -->Δ
      97  LIL:     (.) MO:ney: (.) >you know?<
```

Fig. 1: EMI gazes at LIL, while LIL gazes down on topic card & nods.

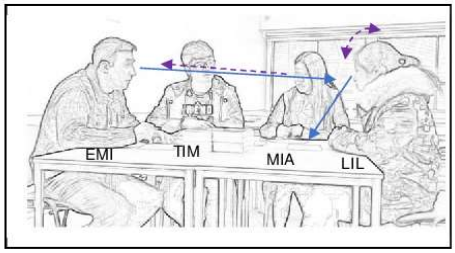


Fig. 2: EMI maintains gaze on LIL.

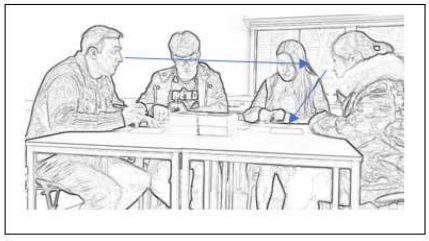


Fig. 3: MIA gazes up to LIL.

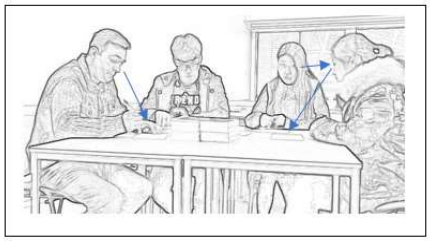
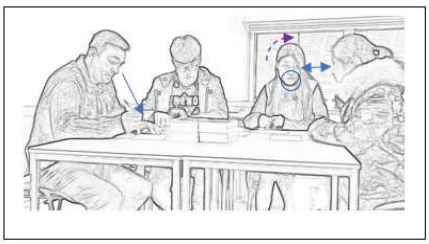


Fig.4: MIA shifts head to LIL & addresses her with "and you?". Both establish gaze.



£ for gestures done by EMI ≈ for gaze done by EMI	∂ for gestures done by LIL ∞ for gaze done by LIL
Δ for gestures done by MIA ◊ for gaze done by MIA	• for gestures done by TIM * for gaze done by TIM

Excerpt 2 begins with EMI continuing his hold of primary-speakership at line 88 while maintaining a gaze trajectory towards LIL. Prior to approaching a near completion of his turn in line 89, EMI diverts his gaze to MIA, another test-taker. EMI makes a quick gaze shift towards MIA as he takes an inbreath, after which he shifts his gaze direction back to LIL while uttering the second syllable of the word [EMPLOY]≈me∞nt , reaching through that a turn-completion point and a possible TRP. Both LIL and MIA orient to EMI's head and gaze shift back towards LIL in line 89, prior to his completion of his TCU. Nevertheless, when EMI gazes back at LIL, LIL starts to display a slight disengagement through immediately lowering her head position away from EMI and orienting her gaze to her topic-card. Although LIL diverts her gaze trajectory to her topic-card, LIL attempts to display minimal acknowledgment to EMI through producing brief nods in line 90. LIL maintains a lowered gaze trajectory despite continuing to provide her minimal acknowledgment nods during the 0.2 second pause in line 91 and she continues to do so after MIA had verbally displayed her agreement with EMI in line 92. During this time, EMI pursues to orient his gaze direction towards LIL in spite of LIL's lowered gaze trajectory in an attempt to select her as the next-primary-speaker. EMI's attempt to select LIL as the next-primary-speaker for an extended turn to the floor is the first action in the current sequence, also referenced as letter (A) on the transcript. Despite EMI's sustained gaze towards LIL, LIL preserves her lowered gaze trajectory, though she slightly upgrades her display of agreement by verbally uttering a low-voiced agreement token [°uh]m° in line 93. LIL follows up with another display of alignment with her co-participant by uttering a quick low-voiced agreement token >°yeah°< in line 93.

After having displayed her agreement and alignment with EMI, LIL pauses after which there becomes an extended period of silence of 1.0 second in line 94. However, in spite of the lack of talk, EMI persists with his gaze trajectory towards LIL in the first 0.5 seconds of the silence as an explicit method for selecting LIL for next-primary-speakership. EMI's perseverance to explicitly select LIL as the next-primary-speaker displays that EMI has not considered LIL's minimal response tokens in line 93 as a satisfactory response by a next-primary-speaker. His continuous employment of gaze as an explicit addressing device to select LIL reveals his determination to make a successful turn-transfer to LIL. Though, as LIL had her gaze directed to the topic-card, EMI's employment of gaze as the only method of selection failed to gain LIL's attention and led EMI to give-up on his attempt after the 0.5 second pause in line 94, referenced as letter (B) on the transcript. As a test-taker, LIL's gaze trajectory and attention was directed towards

the assessment document which diverted her attention from the current speaker. Nevertheless, for EMI's gaze to have succeeded as an explicit addressing device to initiate a successful turn-transfer, LIL had to have established mutual gaze with EMI and oriented to the continued gaze directed towards her especially that no other explicit method of selection had been used by EMI (Lerner, 2003).

After EMI had dropped his gaze away from LIL to his topic card, and after a further micropause in line 94, totaling to a 0.6 second pause without any uptake from LIL, MIA comes in to enable LIL of holding the floor as a primary speaker. First, MIA reorients her gaze from her topic-card to LIL, who continues to have a lowered gaze trajectory (see fig. 3). In addition to holding a gaze orientation towards LIL, MIA pursues with a head shift in LIL's direction, also referenced as letter (C1) on the transcript. Then MIA pursues with her enabling attempt via addressing LIL with `>°an∞d YOU?:°<` in line 95 (see fig. 4), also referenced as letter (C2) on the transcript. MIA's phrase `>°an∞d YOU?:°<` functions as a question to make the turn-transfer mandatory to the addressed recipient. This phrase may be termed as an "indexical speaker-selection phrase" (Greer and Potter, 2008: 303) in which it "references some sequence-initiating action that already occurred in previous talk, implying that the respondent's next turn will be somehow related to the current topic of conversation". However, a question rises in multi-party talk: who does 'you' refer to in MIA's utterance `>°an∞d YOU?:°<` ? The analysis reveals that MIA concurs her production of the phrase `>°an∞d YOU?:°<` with eye gaze and bodily orientation directed towards LIL which display that `you:` in this multi-party talk is intended for LIL and as a result achieves to select LIL as the next-speaker (Lerner, 2003).

Fig. 3: MIA gazes up to LIL.

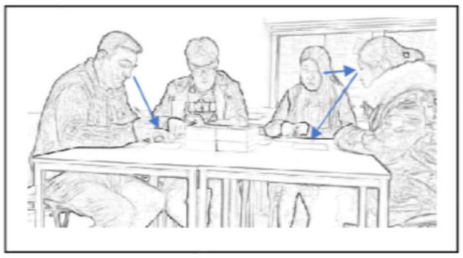
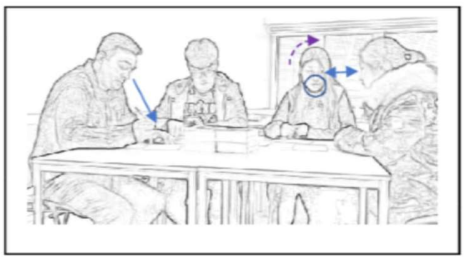


Fig.4: MIA shifts head to LIL & addresses her with "and you?". Both establish gaze.



In addition, since >°an∞d YOU?:°< in line 95 functions as a question that achieves a next-speaker-selection, it stands as the first pair part of the action sequence initiated by MIA. As such, it requires a second pair part to be completed by LIL, the addressed recipient. During MIA's utterance LIL orients that she is the intended recipient and begins to redirect her gaze trajectory towards MIA. LIL also treats the phrase >°an∞d YOU?:°< as a question, the first-pair part of an action sequence, and as such follows up with a latching second pair part response in line 96. LIL begins her TCU with a stressed and quickly uttered >and< in line 96 displaying her understanding to the 'indexical speaker-selection phrase' >°an∞d YOU?:°< in line 95 that she is to progress with the topic for discussion with additional information. LIL's understanding of how to project her incoming turn for the indexical speaker-selection phrase >°an∞d YOU?:°< is also displayed by her pointing with her index finger to the topic-card as she utters >and< in line 96 to begin voicing her stance on the topic for discussion. LIL's immediate uptake in line 96, also referenced as letter (D) in the excerpt displays the enabled participants' orientation to the goal-directed discussion and readiness to hold the floor upon gaining an opportunity to provide a speech sample for assessment. After LIL utters >and< in line 96, she follows up her turn-at-talk with a change in the prosodic pattern of her emerging TCU by loudly voicing I THINK∆ ↑THE: in line 96. The prosodic manipulation in her utterance exhibits LIL's readiness to provide her opinion on the topic as well as displaying her right to the floor as a primary-speaker. Both LIL's embodied pre-beginning action of index pointing to her topic-card and the prosodic manipulation in her utterance reveal the type of action LIL will be performing in her second pair part of the talk, that of progressing with the topic under discussion via presenting her viewpoint on the topic, but they also assist her in gaining the non-gazing test-takers' attention and orient towards her as the current-primary-speaker.

In this excerpt, MIA adopts the role of the enabler by enabling LIL to hold the floor as a primary-speaker after EMI's attempt failed to do so. Although MIA was not the primary-speaker in this assessed discussion, she employed gaze, an explicit method of selection, in concordance with a head orientation directed towards LIL and a verbal 'indexical speaker-selection phrase' >°an∞d YOU?:°< to enable the successful selection of LIL, a non-gazing recipient to hold the floor as a next-speaker so that she may provide a speech sample for assessment. MIA's enabling action receives an immediate uptake from LIL despite the deviance in the turn-allocation system,

revealing the participants' orientation to the institutional goal of the discussion. See Excerpt 2.1 for a visually highlighted analytic summary highlighting the problematic turn-transfer in the excerpt and the main interactional work leading up to establishing the interactional role of the enabler as well as the enabled participant's orientation and uptake in spite of the variant turn-allocation practice that arises amongst the participants.

Excerpt 2.1: Starting a Business - "and you?"

```
      88  EMI:    ≈>there is NO:?< (0.2) (PENEFIT) (0.3) in SE:LF≈
                  ≈Gazes at LIL ----------------------------------------≈
A —   89          .hh [EMPLOY  ]≈me∞nt#
      90  MIA:        [°self::°]
          emi                   ≈Gazes at LIL-->89.94
          lil                     ∞Lowers gaze -->89.96
          fig                       #1
      91  (0.2)
      92  MIA:    >°yea[h° ]<
      93  LIL:        [°uh]m° >°yeah°<
      94          #(0.5)≈(.)◊#(0.3)◊Δ(.)
B —       emi       -->≈
          mia             ◊Gazes up -◊
C1 —      mia               ΔShifts head & gazes to LIL-->94.96
          fig     #2        #3
C2 —  95  MIA:    >°an∞d YOU?:°<#=
          lil       -->∞
          fig               #4
D —   96  LIL:    =>and< (.) I THINKΔ ↑THE: (.) bi-↑BIG ISSUE IS:=uha
          mia                 -->Δ
      97  LIL:    (.) MO:ney: (.) >you know?<
```

Fig. 1: EMI gazes at LIL, while LIL gazes down on topic card & nods.

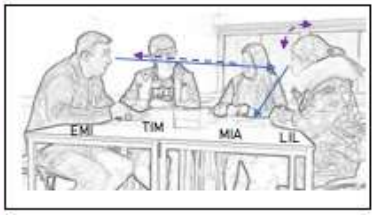


Fig. 2: EMI maintains gaze on LIL.

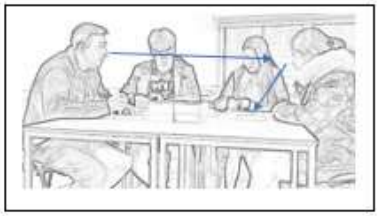
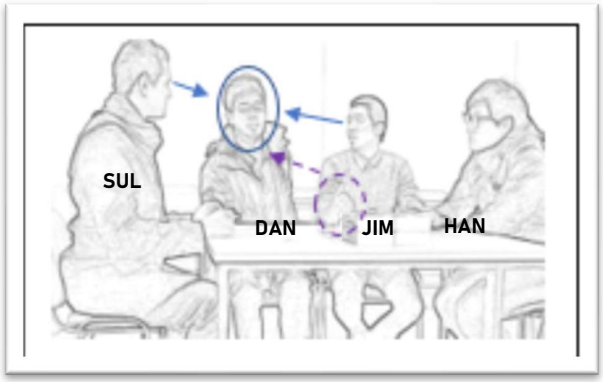


Fig. 3: MIA gazes up to LIL.

Fig.4: MIA shifts head to LIL & addresses her with "and you?". Both establish gaze.

£ for gestures done by EMI ≈ for gaze done by EMI	∂ for gestures done by LIL ∞ for gaze done by LIL
Δ for gestures done by MIA ◊ for gaze done by MIA	• for gestures done by TIM * for gaze done by TIM

5.2.2 *Non-Primary Speaker Enables Other-Selection through Pointing & "how about you"*



Setting the Scene:

This is another excerpt that displays a *non-primary speaker's* successful attempt in facilitating a turn-transfer after a struggling other-selection. The *non-primary* speaker enables the selection of another test-taker through the employment of thumb pointing and an addressed question "how about you", another form of 'indexical speaker-selection phrase' (Greer and Potter, 2008). This group also consists of four test-takers, Sultan (SUL) a Saudi, Dan a Thai, while Jim and Hank (HAN) are both Chinese. This group has been assessed as holding a level 'five' proficiency level in English. The test-takers have been allocated four minutes to discuss the question 'What positive qualities or characteristics are important in a student class representative'. The excerpt begins at 2 minutes and 35 seconds into the discussion. Prior to the excerpt, Jim was holding the floor as a primary-speaker for the second time and he was mentioning the responsibilities of a classroom representative and providing an account to why they are important. Upon completion, Sultan quickly self-selects himself and begins his turn by displaying his agreement with Jim followed by a presentation of additional representative qualities. The excerpt begins with the second quality that Sultan mentions in line 66. When Sultan completes his extended turn-at-talk, he makes two failed attempts to select Dan as the next-primary speaker. As in the previous excerpt, the intended recipient has his gaze projected away from the participating test-takers. The excerpt displays how Jim enables a successful turn-transfer from Sultan to Dan and gains the non-gazing participant's attention through employing embodiment, using an elevated hand gesture (pointing with his thumb) in concurrence with a directed question to Dan "how about you?".

Excerpt 3: Class Representative - "how about you"
Participants: SULtan, DAN, JIM, HANk

	66	**SUL:**	>he should know the< (.) °u-uh° LOTS OF STU:de:nt
	67	**JIM:**	o:h (.) Y[E::s]
	68	**SUL:**	[>°yes°<]
	69	(0.2)	
	70	**SUL:**	∂don'°t°=be shy
		dan	∂Shifts gaze forward, away from SUL-->70.76
A1 →	71	**SUL:**	◊°u?[m::°]
	72	**JIM:**	[°u$mf°]::[£°h$°]∞
A2 →	73	**SUL:**	[£°hm:]∞:°#£
		sul	◊Gazes at DAN-->>
		sul	£Gestures to DAN£
		jim	∞ Gazes at DAN-->>
		fig	#1
B →	74	(0.2)	
C →	75	**JIM:**	>≈how#=°about°≈ y[ou:<]
			≈Points to DAN ----≈
		fig	#2
D →	76	**DAN:**	[uha]¥::m (.) >mutah< (.) >°okay°< (.)
			¥Leans back & gazes down at topic card------->76.77
	77	**DAN:**	>I E::=I E:A:-<¥ ¢(0.2) ∂>i=think# there a:re< (.) >some:<
			-->¥
			¢Shifts body posture towards JIM-->>
			∂Gazes at JIM-->>
		fig	#3
	78	**DAN:**	(0.2) uha: (.) >BENEFIT<

Fig. 1: SUL gazes & gestures to DAN, while DAN gazes to his front.

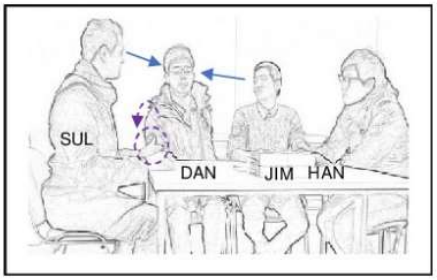


Fig. 2: JIM points to DAN & addresses him with "how about you?"

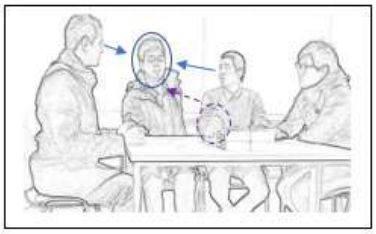
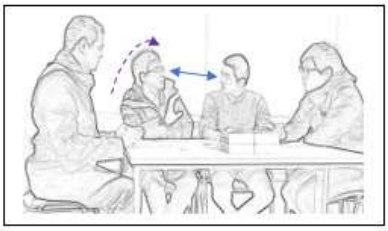


Fig. 3: DAN orients body posture & gaze to JIM.



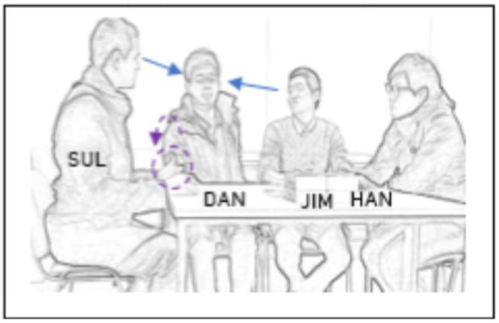
Δ/£ for gestures done by SUL ◊ for gaze done by SUL	≈ for gestures done by JIM ∞ for gaze done by JIM
¥/¢ for gestures done by DAN ∂ for gaze done by DAN	• for gestures done by HAN * for gaze done by HAN

Excerpt 3 begins with SUL continuing his extended turn-at-talk providing his account on the qualities of classroom representatives. During SUL's production of the phrase >he should know the< in line 66, SUL has his gaze distributed between the participating members in the group. However, upon reaching the production of LOTS OF STU:de:nt SUL maintains his gaze on JIM. After SUL had provided his opinion and reached a possible TRP, JIM produces the change of state token o:h in which he displays that he has become in a state of understanding SUL's point. JIM follows-up with an extended agreement token Y[E::s] in line 67 to confirm an understanding of the previous utterance and to display his agreement and affiliation with SUL's account. Though, JIM's agreement token is overlapped at turn-initial position by SUL's quick and softly produced acknowledgement token [>°yes°<] in line 68. When SUL and JIM had completed uttering their overlapping agreement markers, JIM and DAN shift their gaze direction away from SUL. However, after a 0.2 second pause in line 69, as SUL produces the increment ∂don'°t°=be shy in line 70, he gains JIM's gaze once again. On the other hand, DAN maintains his gaze trajectory to his front during SUL's talk, a gaze direction that avoids mutual gaze with any of the other test-takers. After having completed his TCU in line 70, SUL holds the floor once again in line 71, though this time he produces a softly uttered non-lexical token ◊°u?[m::°] in concurrence with an explicitly projected gaze towards DAN to select him as the next-primary-speaker, also referenced as letter (A1) on the transcript. Nevertheless, SUL's attempt to gain the non-gazing participant's attention fails. SUL's non-lexical utterance was softly uttered, it was also overlapped at mid-turn position by another non-lexical utterance produced by JIM. JIM had produced an extended laughable non-lexical nasal response [°u$mf°]::[£°h$°] in line 72 to SUL's increment don'°t°=be shy in line 70, treating SUL's increment as humorous. As JIM had oriented to SUL's attempt to select DAN as the next-speaker in line 71, JIM produced a turn-at-talk in line 72 that displays his understanding of the increment uttered in line 70, but that does not make him hold the floor as the next-primary speaker. The overlapping sounds of JIM's and SUL's non-lexical utterances could have made it difficult for DAN, the non-gazing participant to understand and distinguish between the overlapping sounds and their intended actions.

After the failed explicit form of addressing in line 71, SUL quickly pursues to select DAN for the second time for primary-speakership. In SUL's second selection attempt, DAN continues to hold his gaze trajectory to his front, directed away from the participating test-takers. With such a gaze trajectory, SUL slightly develops his maneuvers by including gesture to his selection

attempt. SUL pursues to make the turn-transfer successful by addressing DAN with a low voiced non-lexical token [£°hm:] in line 73 in concurrence with a gaze explicitly directed at DAN and including a diagonally pointing open hand gesture towards DAN (see fig. 1), also referenced as letter (A2) in the excerpt. Despite SUL's second attempt, there was no uptake by DAN. The lack of success could be due to a number of reasons. First, SUL's non-lexical token was uttered in overlap with JIM's extended non-lexical response in line 72 which may have made it difficult for DAN who is continuing to hold a non-gazing trajectory to distinguish between the sounds and understand SUL's turn-allocation attempt. Furthermore, SUL's employed embodiment, the diagonal open-hand gesture, was conducted out of DAN's visual field, making the attempt fail in gaining DAN's attention to produce a successful turn-transfer. After having failed to attain DAN's attention in line 73, SUL retracts his hand gesture to its original position, though continuing to maintain his gaze direction at DAN.

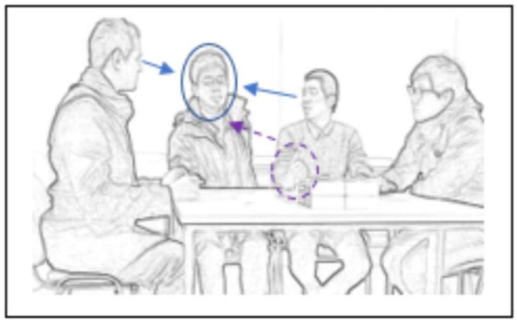
Fig. 1: SUL gazes & gestures to DAN, while DAN gazes to his front.



Alternatively, previous to SUL's second failed attempt to select DAN as the next-primary-speaker, JIM had shifted his gaze direction towards DAN slightly prior to SUL's utterance completion in line 73 [£°hm:]∞:° . After SUL retracts his gesture and a further 0.2 second pause in line 74 with no uptake from DAN, referenced as letter (B), JIM takes on the interactional role of an enabler to enable a successful turn-transfer to DAN. While maintaining his gaze directed at DAN, JIM addresses DAN in line 75 with the question >≈how#=°about°≈ y[ou:<] in concurrence with an arm lift from the table and a pointing thumb directed at DAN, referenced as letter (C) on the transcript. As mentioned in the previous excerpt, according to Greer and Potter

(2008: 303) >≈how#=°about°≈ y[ou:<] is an 'indexical question', a question that "references some sequence-initiating action that already occurred in previous talk, implying that the respondent's next turn will be somehow related to the current topic of conversation". In this excerpt, JIM seeks to enable the selection of DAN in line 75 by producing a different indexical question >≈how#=°about°≈ y[ou:<] in conjunction with a head orientation, an established eye gaze in DAN's direction and an elevated pointing gesture towards DAN (see fig. 2). As in the previous excerpt, the intended recipient of the 'you' needs to be determined by the participants. As JIM had produced >≈how#=°about°≈ y[ou:<], also referred to as an "indexical speaker-selection phrase" (Greer and Potter, 2008: 303) in concurrence with gaze, an explicit selection method (Lerner, 2003; Hayashi, 2013) and an elevated pointing thumb projected towards DAN, it was understood by DAN and the other participants that DAN is the intended recipient. DAN's understanding of the indexical question as a selection attempt was immediately displayed as he began to produce his TCU in overlap with JIM's stretched y[ou:<].

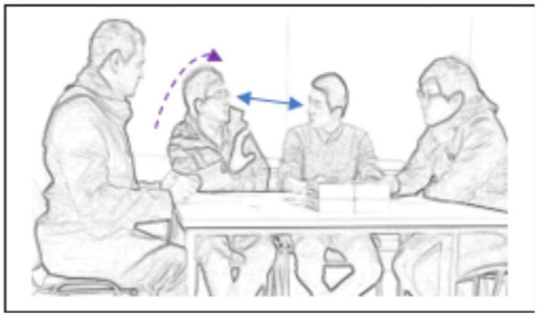
Fig. 2: JIM points to DAN & addresses him with "how about you?"



The analysis reveals JIM's success in enabling the turn-transfer from SUL to DAN with the use of 'how about you?'. This success is demonstrated in DAN's immediate uptake in line 76, also referenced as letter (D) in the transcript. DAN begins his TCU in line 76 with an overlapping stretched hesitation marker [uha]¥::m which functions to absorb the overlap with JIM's utterance (Hayashi, 2013), while also providing DAN with time to hold the floor as he organizes his incoming talk. After the stretched hesitation marker [uha]¥::m in line 76, DAN trails it with a micropause and then another quickly uttered hesitation marker >mutah<, followed by

another micropause. During the production of these hesitation markers, DAN redirects his gaze to his topic card and leans back in his seat. The combined hesitation markers and embodied shifts provide DAN with time to formulate his incoming TCU and reorient as a primary-speaker. The hesitation markers and the embodied reorientation of gaze direction and seating posture also act to display DAN's shift and readiness to move from one action to the next, creating a change in his state from a listener to a primary speaker. After having produced the hesitation markers, DAN produces a fast and low-voiced receipt token `>°okay°<` to buy himself time and to display his readiness to hold the floor to provide his stance on the topic for discussion.

Fig. 3: DAN orients body posture & gaze to JIM.



After the softly uttered `>°okay°<` in line 76 that exhibits DAN's readiness to provide his turn-at-talk, DAN follows-up with a further micropause which is then followed by the production of `>I E::=I E:A:-<¥` in line 77 in which DAN attempts to begin producing the pronoun 'I' to state his opinion on the topic for discussion. The repeated and stretched pronoun 'I' was produced in concurrence with DAN's lowered gaze trajectory to his topic-card to provide himself with extra time to re-read the question. DAN's orientation to the topic-card also reveals DAN's understanding of the indexical speaker-selection phrase `>≈how#=°about°≈ y[ou:<]` as a question referencing the incoming turn to relate to the original topic for discussion. Immediately after taking time to look at the question in the topic-card, DAN displays his readiness to provide his account by shifting his body orientation and gaze towards JIM as he commences to produce `∂>i=think# there a:re< (.) >some:<` in line 77 (see fig. 3). DAN's orientation to JIM rather than to SUL demonstrates JIM's successful tactics in gaining the non-gazing participant's attention as well as his tactics' ability to facilitate a turn-transfer from one test-taker to another. In fact, JIM's enabling of DAN to the floor provides a positive turn-transition from SUL to DAN as there was an

immediate uptake from DAN to hold the floor and no displays of dismay from SUL towards JIM for acting as an enabler. These interactional notions have been highlighted within Excerpt 3.1, for a visually highlighted analytic summary of the enabling turn-allocation practices arising amongst international L2 test-takers during a group oral assessment.

Excerpt 3.1: `Class Representative - "how about you"`

```
66  SUL:    >he should know the< (.) °u-uh° LOTS OF STU:de:nt
67  JIM:    o:h (.) Y[E::s   ]
68  SUL:             [>°yes°<]
69  (0.2)
70  SUL:    ∂don'°t°=be shy
    dan     ∂Shifts gaze forward, away from SUL-->70.76
A1  71  SUL:    ◊°u?[m::°   ]
72  JIM:         [°u$mf°]::[£°h$°]∞
A2  73  SUL:                 [£°hm:]∞:° #£
    sul     ◊Gazes at DAN-->>
    sul                      £Gestures to DAN£
    jim                          ∞ Gazes at DAN-->>
    fig                          #1
B   74  (0.2)
C   75  JIM:    >≈how#=°about°≈ y[ou:<]
              ≈Points to DAN ----≈
    fig           #2
D   76  DAN:                    [uha ]¥::m (.) >mutah< (.) >°okay°< (.)
                                ¥Leans back & gazes down at topic card------->76.77
    77  DAN:    >I E::=I E:A:-<¥ ¢(0.2) ∂>i=think# there a:re< (.) >some:<
                            -->¥
                                ¢Shifts body posture towards JIM-->>
                                    ∂Gazes at JIM-->>
    fig                             #3
78  DAN:    (0.2) uha: (.) >BENEFIT<
```

Fig. 1: SUL gazes & gestures to DAN, while DAN gazes to his front.

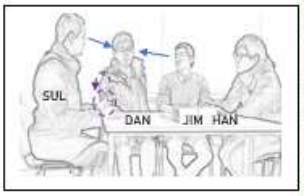


Fig. 2: JIM points to DAN & addresses him with "how about you?"

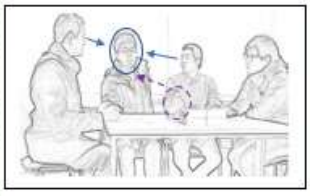
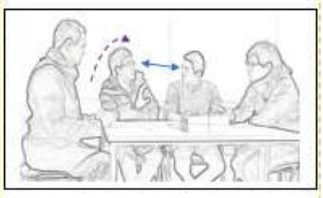
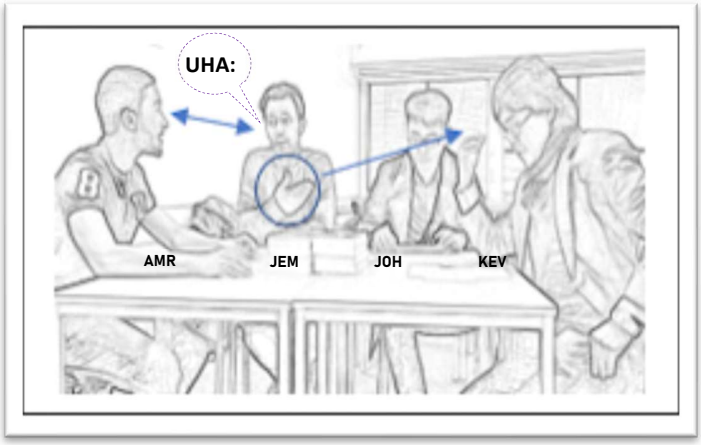


Fig. 3: DAN orients body posture & gaze to JIM.



Δ/£ for gestures done by SUL ◊ for gaze done by SUL	≈ for gestures done by JIM ∞ for gaze done by JIM
¥/◦ for gestures done by DAN ∂ for gaze done by DAN	• for gestures done by HAN * for gaze done by HAN

5.2.3 *Non-Primary Speaker Prompts Other-Selection via an Open-Palm Gesture & a Non-Lexical Token*



Setting the Scene:

This excerpt presents a different type of cooperative work by the test-takers to enable an incipient speaker of gaining the floor via prompting the current-speaker to select the incipient participant as the next-primary speaker. There are four test-takers in this group, Amr and Jemal (JEM) from Saudi Arabia, John (JOH) a Chinese and Kevin (KEV) is Thai. This group holds a level 'five' proficiency in English, and they have been allocated four minutes to discuss the following question 'What is volunteer work? Can you give examples of volunteer work that people do?'. The excerpt begins at 1 minute and 48 seconds into the discussion in which Amr has self-selected himself for primary speakership for the second time in this assessed discussion, while Kevin has still not had the opportunity to provide a speech sample for assessment. The excerpt begins at line 64 with Amr continuing to hold the floor and competing for an extended turn to provide a list of examples of volunteer work despite Kevin's concurrent embodied and vocal displays of recipiency to prompt Amr to select him as the next-primary speaker. The enabler's interactional work in this excerpt differs from the previous two excerpts. To assist Kevin, the incipient speaker in gaining primary-speakership, Jemal a *non-primary-speaker* addresses Amr, the current-speaker via gaze, a loudly uttered non-lexical token and an open-palm gesture directed towards Kevin to prompt Jemal to reorient his gaze to Kevin and select him for next-primary-speakership.

Similar to previous excerpts, the transcript for excerpt 4 has also been marked with letters to display the interactional sequence of actions in the transcript. Letter (A) – refers to the recipient's attempts to display incipiency to the current speaker. In excerpt 4, the recipient makes numerous attempts to prompt the current speaker's other selection, and as such, each attempt has been allocated a number. Letter (B) – displays the recipient's failed attempt to gain speakership. Letter (C) – demonstrates the *non-primary-speaker's* attempt to prompt the current speaker to make an other selection. Letter (D) – presents the current speaker's uptake to make a quick turn-transfer to select the incipient speaker as the next-primary-speaker.

Excerpt 4: Volunteer Work - "maybe anything. Yeah"
Participants: AMR, JEMal, JOHn, KEVin

64 AMR: .hh eha: it's exactly with: #∂↑EVERYTHING∂ you:
kev ∂ Lifts arms from the ∂ table while gazing at AMR
fig #1
A1 → 65 AMR: can=say∂ f:- >for=her:-<∂# (.) >for=helping< the:: (.)
kev ∂.....∂Changes sitting posture-------------->65.74
fig #2

Fig. 1: AMR & KEV establish gaze. KEV lifts arms off the table.

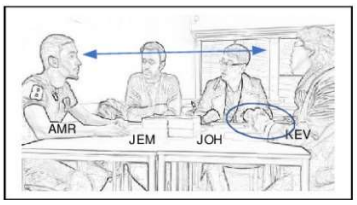


Fig. 2: AMR shifts gaze to JOH while KEV looks at AMR changes posture.

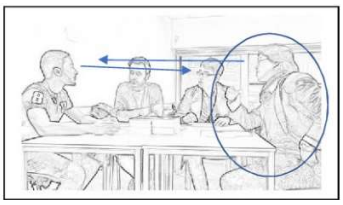
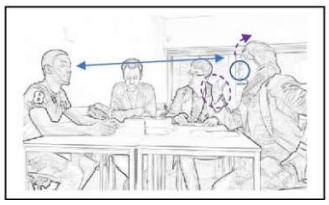


Fig. 3: KEV & AMR establish gaze. KEV gestures with hand & lip talks.



66 AMR: >SOC↑IE≈TIE:S[:< .h]hh≈ ∞>fo∂r helping< the:::#∂∞
67 KEV: [.hhh]
kev ≈Looks up from topic card ≈ to AMR
kev ∞Establishes eye gaze with AMR-------∞
A2 → kev ∂Circular hand gesture & lip talks-∂
fig #3
A3 → 68 KEV: ≈.hh >°um°<≈=
≈Nods --------≈
69 AMR: =∂na:tions∂ [the:] govern[m:en]t£# Δthe::£ ¥.hh=
70 JEM: [>°yeah°<]
71 JOH: [>YEAH<]
A4 → kev ∂Nods & touches chin∂
B → amr £Gazes at JOH£
C1 → jem ΔGazes at AMR & creates an open palm gesture in KEV's direction-->69.73
amr ¥Gazes at JEM-->69.73
fig #4
C2 → 72 JEM: =UHA#[:]Δ
73 AMR: [>MAY]Δ¥BE< >↑Y£ES:< (.) >MAYBE ≈the #STUDENTS<(.)
jem -->Δ
amr -->¥
amr £Gazes at KEV-->>
kev ≈Circular hand gesture & lip talks-->73.74
fig #5 #6

```
D →  74   AMR:     maybe≈∂ >any:≈thing< (.) >y↑EAh?<
          kev        -->≈
          kev         -->∂
          kev                    ≈Points with left index finger to topic card-->74 . 75
     75   KEV:     f::≈ >FROM=MY POIN'°of°=view:< (.) i=↑thin::k (.)
                   -->≈
```

Fig. 4: AMR gazes at JOH.

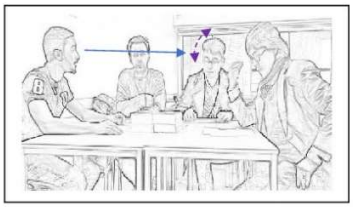


Fig. 5: JEM utters a non-lexical token & makes an open palm gesture in KEV's direction. This gains AMR's gaze.

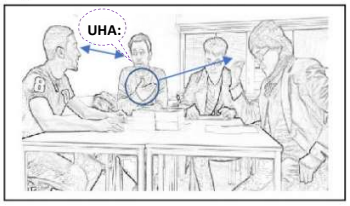
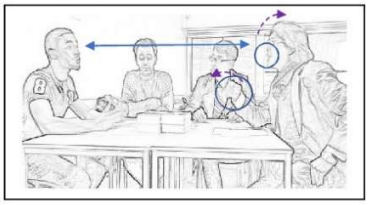


Fig. 6: AMR gazes back at KEV. KEV gestures & lip talks.



§for gestures done by AMR £/¥ for gaze done by AMR	≈/∂ for gestures done by KEV ∞ for gaze done by KEV
Δ for gestures done by JEM ◊ for gaze done by JEM	• for gestures done by JOH * for gaze done by JOH

Excerpt 4 begins with AMR continuing to produce his extended turn-at-talk at line 64. In the same line, KEV begins to exhibit his incipiency to the current-speaker and his intention to talk next. KEV employs the embodied action of lifting his arms off the table while maintaining an established eye gaze with AMR as a turn-entry device to hold the floor when AMR reaches a near TRP (see fig. 1). After uttering `you: can=say∂` in line 65, KEV lifts his arm nearer to his mouth and lip talks in line 65, expecting AMR to reach a possible completion. As AMR shifts his gaze towards JOH during his utterance of `f:- >for=her:-<∂#` in line 65, KEV begins to change his seating posture (see fig. 2) in an attempt to prompt AMR, the current speaker of selecting him for primary-speakership, referenced as letter (A1) in the transcript, but orients that AMR has shifted his gaze direction away from him.

Fig. 1: AMR & KEV establish gaze. KEV lifts arms off the table.

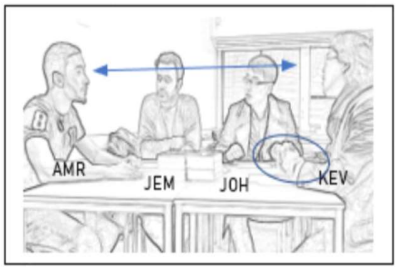
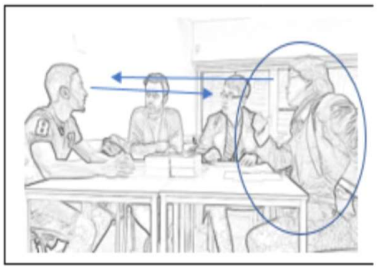


Fig. 2: AMR shifts gaze to JOH while KEV looks at AMR changes posture.



After having established his new seating posture, KEV reorients his gaze trajectory to his topic-card while AMR continues to construct his TCU `>for=helping< the:: (.) >SOC↑IE≈TIE:S[:<` in lines 65 to 66. Upon pronouncing half of the word `>SOC↑IE≈TIE:S[:<` and immediately after AMR had raised his pitch and stressed the letters `↑IE` in the word `>SOC↑IE≈TIE:S[:<` in line 66 KEV raises his gaze trajectory from the topic card and orients his gaze to AMR, expecting AMR to reach a TRP. KEV takes an early deep inbreath in line 67 `[.hhh ]` slightly before AMR's completion which comes in overlap with a stretched 's' sound `S[:< .h]` in which KEV interprets as AMR's possible turn completion point. The early inbreath concorded with a gaze direction at AMR and a circular hand motion were KEV's pre-onset attempts to claim speakership (see fig. 3), also referenced as letter (A2) in the transcript. Though, AMR takes a quick inbreath and pursues with his turn-at-talk past the possible TRP, preventing KEV from holding the floor. In his next TCU, AMR displays a prosodic manipulation with his utterance

∞>fo∂r helping< the:::#∂∞ ∂na:tions∂ in line 66 and 69, as he first speeds up the pace of his utterance ∞>fo∂r helping< and then stretches the::: and stresses and stretches the pronunciation of ∂na:tions∂ while maintaining an established gaze with KEV and orienting to KEV's persistent embodied actions of lip talking, creating circular hand gestures (see fig. 3), nodding and then moving his hand to his chin, referenced as letter (A4) in the transcript.

Fig. 3: KEV & AMR establish gaze. KEV gestures with hand & lip talks.

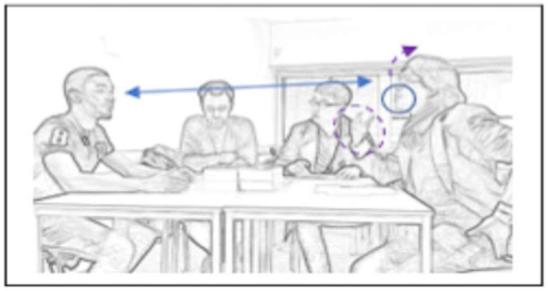
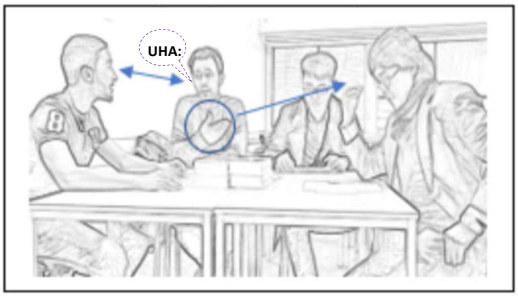


Fig. 4: AMR gazes at JOH.

KEV pursues with his attempts to gain the floor after AMR stretches the::: in line 66 by taking an inbreath and uttering a quick hesitation marker >°um°< as he nods to AMR in line 68, referenced as letter (A3) in the transcript. Nevertheless, to maintain his orientation to the institutional goal of preserving one speaker at a time, KEV does not pursue with talk after AMR articulates na:tions in line 69 to complete his TCU. In spite of the upgraded and intensifying verbal and embodied behavioral displays by KEV to secure recipiency as the next-primary speaker (letter A4 in the transcript), AMR continues to compete for an extended turn-at-talk by producing additional talk past the possible TRP after the word ∂na:tions∂ in line 69. AMR immediately follows-up with an additional expansion of his TCU with the: govern[m:en]t£ in line 69, manipulating the prosodic pattern of his talk, by slightly stretching the utterance as it comes in overlap with JEM's and JOH's agreement tokens in lines 70 and 71. JOH's stressed and high-pitched agreement token [>YEAH<] succeeds in gaining AMR's attention, shifting AMR's gaze direction from KEV to JOH despite KEV's persistent displays of recipiency to gain next-primary-speakership, referenced as letter (B) in the transcript (see fig. 4).

On the other hand, KEV's increasing and intensifying demonstrations of recipiency to AMR have not only prompted JEM's orientation to KEV as a recipient for next-speakership, but they have also made AMR accountable for his further talk (Ford and Stickle, 2012). To maintain the institutional nature of the discussion in providing a platform to every test-taker to display their speech sample, JEM shifts his role from a listener to an enabler. After AMR had directed his gaze to JOH near the second syllable of the word govern[m:en]t, in line 69, JEM immediately shifts his gaze towards AMR in line 69 and creates an open palm gesture in KEV's direction that continues from lines 69 to 73 in his first attempt to prompt AMR to orient to KEV and select him for primary-speakership, referenced as letter (C1) in the transcript. JEM pursues with his enabling attempt via producing a loud-voiced and slightly stretched non-lexical token UHA: in line 72 to prompt AMR to reorient his gaze and attention back to KEV (see fig. 5), also referenced as letter (C2) in the transcript.

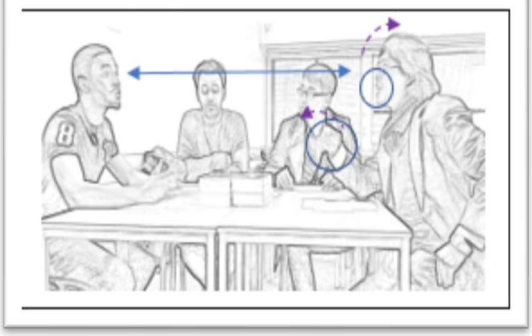
Fig. 5: JEM utters a non-lexical token & makes an open palm gesture in KEV's direction. This gains AMR's gaze.



As AMR was addressed prior to turn-completion in line 69, and as he was taking an inbreath ∆the::£ ¥.hh= , AMR quickly pursues to complete his talk in line 73 by uttering a fast and high-voiced [>MAY]∆¥BE<, overlapping the first syllable with JEM's stretched non-lexical token at turn-terminal position. After establishing gaze with JEM and observing JEM's open-palm gesture towards KEV as he articulates [>MAY]∆¥BE< , AMR trails his overlapped utterance with another fast and high-voiced affirmative response token >↑Y£ES:< (.) in line 73. The affirmative response token may function to confirm AMR's understanding of JEM's prompt as well as exhibit his readiness to hasten the completion of his talk to make a quick turn-transfer to

KEV, the only test-taker who has not gained an opportunity to the floor despite the numerous attempts to display recipiency. This is confirmed in AMR's embodiment, as he reorients his gaze trajectory to KEV during his articulation of the affirmative response token >↑Y£ES:< in line 73. With AMR's gaze trajectory oriented towards KEV, AMR produces his succeeding talk in line 73 >MAYBE ≈the #STUDENTS< in a quick and prosodically manipulated manner, assisting him in maintaining his right to complete his turn, but also revealing an orientation to hasten the completion of his turn-at-talk and make a quick turn-transfer to KEV. It is then that KEV diverts his gaze away from his topic-card to AMR to display further recipiency (see fig. 6).

Fig. 6: AMR gazes back at KEV.
KEV gestures & lip talks.



As AMR attempts to complete his talk, he utters a final vague example of voluntary work maybe≈∂ >any:≈thing< which projects to the test-takers his near completion of his extended turn. This is confirmed by JEM's and JOH's gaze shift towards KEV prior to AMR's utterance completion of the word >any:≈thing< in line 74, referenced as letter (D) in the transcript. AMR follows-up the completion of his utterance with a high pitched 'go ahead' response >y↑EAh?< in line 74 to select KEV as the next-primary speaker, also referenced as letter (D) in the transcript. KEV who had been awaiting the selection immediately holds the floor by pointing to his topic card and loudly voicing >FROM=MY POIN'°of°=view:< in line 75 to display his opinion on the topic and provide a speech sample for assessment. Excerpt 4.1 visually highlights and summarizes the failed attempts of an incipient speaker in gaining primary-speakership and a co-participant's success in facilitating that turn-transfer via multimodal resources to establish the incipient speaker as a primary-speaker.

Excerpt 4.1: Volunteer Work – "maybe anything. Yeah"

64 AMR: .hh eha: it's exactly with: #∂↑EVERYTHING∂ you:
kev ∂ Lifts arms from the ∂ table while gazing at AMR
fig #1

A1 65 AMR: can=say∂ f:- >for=her:-<∂# (.) >for=helping< the:: (.)
kev ∂.....∂Changes sitting posture---------->65.74
fig #2

Fig. 1: AMR & KEV establish gaze. KEV lifts arms off the table.

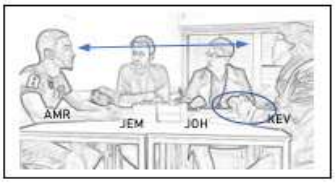


Fig. 2: AMR shifts gaze to JOH while KEV looks at AMR changes posture.

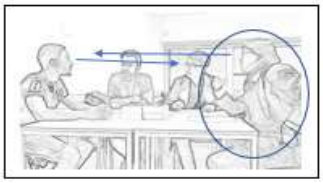
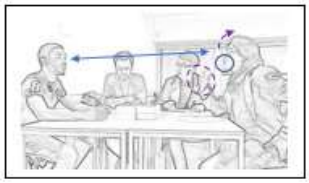


Fig. 3: KEV & AMR establish gaze. KEV gestures with hand & lip talks.



66 AMR: >SOC↑IE≈TIE:S[:< .h]hh≈ ∞>fo∂r helping< the:::#∂∞
67 KEV: [.hhh]
kev ≈Looks up from topic card ≈ to AMR
kev ∞Establishes eye gaze with AMR-------∞
A2 kev ∂Circular hand gesture & lip talks-∂
fig #3
A3 68 KEV: ≈.hh >°um°<≈=
≈Nods --------≈
69 AMR: =∂na:tions∂ [the:] govern[m:en]t£# Δthe::£ ¥.hh=
70 JEM: [>°yeah°<]
71 JOH: [>YEAH<]
A4 kev ∂Nods & touches chin∂
B amr £Gazes at JOH£
C1 jem ΔGazes at AMR & creates an open palm gesture in KEV's direction-->69.73
amr ¥Gazes at JEM-->69.73
fig #4
C2 72 JEM: =UHA#[:]Δ
73 AMR: [>MAY]Δ¥BE< >↑Y£ES:< (.) >MAYBE ≈the #STUDENTS<(.)
jem -->Δ
amr -->¥
amr £Gazes at KEV-->>
kev ≈Circular hand gesture & lip talks-->73.74
fig #5 #6

D → 74 AMR: maybe≈∂ >any:≈thing< (.) >y↑EAh?<
kev -->≈
kev -->∂
kev ≈Points with left index finger to topic card-->74.75
75 KEV: f::≈ >FROM=MY POIN'°of°=view:< (.) i=↑thin: :k (.)
-->≈

Fig. 4: AMR gazes at JOH.

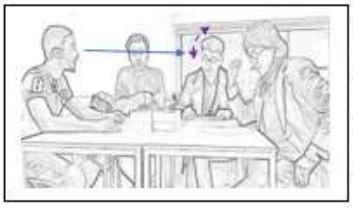
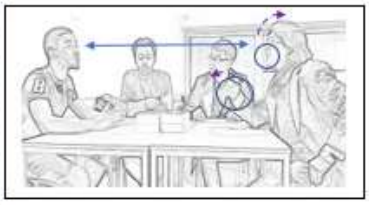


Fig. 5: JEM utters a non-lexical token & makes an open palm gesture in KEV's direction. This gains AMR's gaze.

Fig. 6: AMR gazes back at KEV. KEV gestures & lip talks.



§for gestures done by AMR £/¥ for gaze done by AMR	≈/∂ for gestures done by KEV ∞ for gaze done by KEV
Δ for gestures done by JEM ◊ for gaze done by JEM	• for gestures done by JOH * for gaze done by JOH

5.3 Summary

The analysis from the three excerpts reveal that when struggles rise in making turn-transfers from a current-speaker to a recipient, a *non-primary-speaker* may adopt the role of an *enabler* to assist in making the selection successful. Nevertheless, the enabler's interactional work in the first two excerpts differs from the final excerpt. In the first two excerpts, the *non-primary-speaker* adopts the role of the *enabler* at turn-terminal position after the primary-speaker has completed his TCU and is struggling to make a turn-transfer to the intended recipient. To facilitate the turn-transfer, the enabler addresses the recipient via gaze shifts and an indexical speaker-selection phrase to gain his attention to make a speaker change. However, in excerpt 4, the *non-primary-speaker* adopts the role of the *enabler* at mid-turn position, near a possible TRP or during a silence period in an extended turn-at-talk, such as at an inbreath to prompt the current-speaker to orient their attention to a test-taker displaying recipiency to select them for next-primary-speakership. With the enabler addressing the current-speaker at mid-turn position, the enabler employs non-lexical sounds as well as gesture to avoid interrupting the current-speaker's talk during the assessed discussion but ensuring to prompt the current-speaker to hasten their completion of their talk and make a quick selection of the participant displaying recipiency.

Chapter 6: Analysis. Enabling a Self-Selector to the Floor

6.1 Introduction

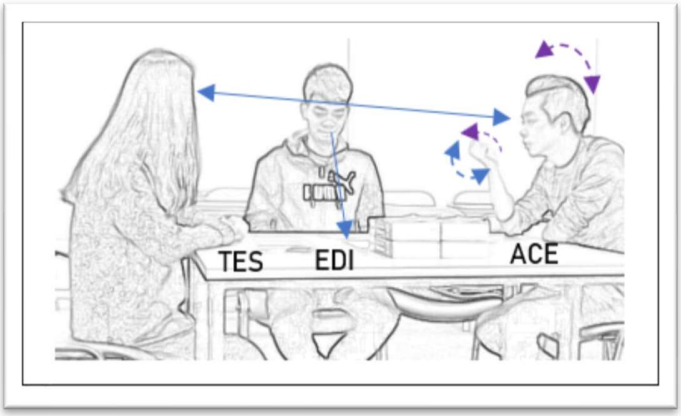
In multiparty interaction, such as in group-oral-assessment discussions, where there is no chair, participating test-takers have been witnessed to work collaboratively to achieve successful next-speaker-selections. As in mundane conversation, as proposed by Sacks *et al*. (1974), when a current-speaker has not made a next-speaker-selection, other participating members may self-select to gain primary-speakership. Securing a turn-at-talk in this situation requires the self-selector's careful monitoring of their fellow test-takers' interaction to display their recipiency to the test-takers and claim a right to the floor. Though, when a self-selector or a current-speaker has a reduced visual sphere, displaying recipiency may become challenging, reducing the possibility of making a successful turn-transfer from one participant to another.

Self-selectors in group-oral-assessments may attempt to gain a right to primary-speakership by being the first to hold the floor, by being a 'first-starter' (Hayashi, 2013; Sacks *et al*., 1974). However, when attempting to become a first-starter, a self-selector may encounter struggles in order to claim their right to primary-speakership. A 'first-starter' may produce their talk in overlap with other test-takers, deviating from the typical rule of having one-speaker-at-a-time (Hayashi, 2013; Sacks *et al*., 1974). A self-selector may also face struggles in claiming primary-speakership when there are other competing test-takers to the floor. This chapter displays the interactional work of a *non-primary-speaker* via adopting the role of an enabler to assist self-selectors in such cases gain a right to the floor. To increase the reader's understanding of the interaction, the transcripts have been marked with letters (A to C), with each letter referring to a specific action. As in the previous analytic chapter, some letters may be accompanied with a number, displaying the number of attempts for a specific action. The letter (A) – refers to the self-selector's failed attempt to display recipiency with the current speaker or gain primary-speakership after having self-selected. Letter (A) also reveals the source of the problem that prevents a self-selector from gaining the floor. Letter (B) – displays the enabler's vocal or embodied attempt to enable the self-selector in claiming primary-speakership. Letter (C) – presents the uptake by the enabled recipient.

6.2 Enabling a Self-Selector to the Floor during Group Oral Assessments

This section presents the analysis of four distinct cases of a *non-primary-speaker* facilitating a turn-transfer to a struggling self-selector to enable their gain of next-primary-speakership.

6.2.1 *Non-Primary Speaker Enables Self-Selector with "yeah" & Head & Hand Gesture*



Setting the Scene:

In Excerpt 5 we have three test-takers, Tess (TES) and Ace are both Chinese and Edi is Thai. Excerpt 5 displays the collaborative work between the test-takers in resolving the noted effects of an overlap talk produced by Tess. The excerpt also reveals how Ace, a *non-primary-speaker* enables Tess in establishing herself as the primary-speaker after demonstrating hesitancy in reclaiming primary-speakership. The test-takers have been assessed by the language institute as holding a level 'four' proficiency in English. As a group, the test-takers have been allocated three minutes to discuss the question 'What do you think are the main benefits and drawbacks of increased tourism?'. Excerpt 5 begins at 2 minutes and 27 seconds into the discussion, with 33 seconds remaining to the end of the assessment time. The excerpt begins after Edi had self-selected himself for primary-speakership and is currently extending his talk on the drawbacks of increased tourism.

Excerpt 5: Increased Tourism – "Oh, okay, Sorry"
Participants: TESs, EDI, ACE

```
      152 EDI:    to: uha (.) >maintenance the °the°< uha: >tourist PLace<
      153 ACE:    >yeah<
      154 EDI:    a[nd:    ]
A1 —  155 TES:     [>but i<] >thin◊k<
          ace                      ◊Gazes at TES-->>
      156 EDI:    >+°uh hm°+<=
                   +Nods to TES+
A2 —  157 TES:    =>oh< (.) >okay< (.) <°so↓rrh::y:°>=
      158 EDI:    =°yeaΔ:h¢°=
B1 —      ace          ΔMakes an outward fist then moves his hand & head sideways-->158.160
          tes             ¢Gazes at ACE-->158.160
C —   159 TES:    =°an¢o[the+rə: #]°> (.) UHΔAə >BENEFITS maybe<+
B2 —  160 ACE:          [°ye+aəh°#]
          tes        -->¢
          ace                          -->Δ
          edi              +Nods as he leans back in his seat and gazes downward--------+
          tes                ∂Gazes at ACE---------∂
          fig                   #1.1/1.2
      161 TES:    .hh >many people can< (.) (OBSERB) (.) uha: (0.2)
```

Fig. 1.1: As ACE gestures EDI leans back & lowers gaze.

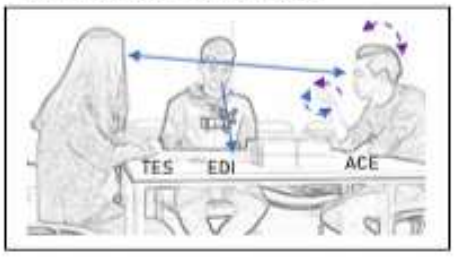
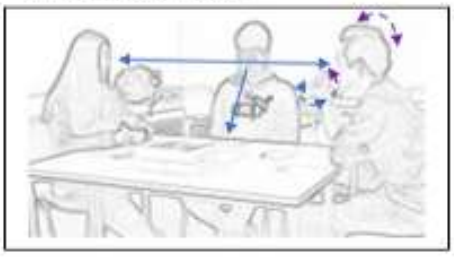


Fig. 1.2: As ACE gestures, ACE & TES establish gaze.



◊ for gaze done by ACE Δ for gestures done by ACE	≈ for gaze done by EDI + for gestures done by EDI
∂/¢ for gaze done by TES ∞ for gestures done by TES	

Excerpt 5 begins with EDI providing his account on how governments can reduce the drawbacks of increased tourism by conducting regular maintenance to a >tourist PLace< . As EDI begins his utterance of >tourist PLace< in line 152 he shifts his gaze trajectory from his topic-card towards ACE. As EDI pursues with the production of his utterance it projects to be reaching near completion, providing a possible TRP as the TCU construction is grammatically and prosodically complete. When EDI has reached a possible TRP, ACE responds to EDI with a quickly uttered agreement token >yeah< displaying his agreement and alignment with EDI. During ACE's response, TES slightly raises her head and gazes away from EDI towards ACE. With TES and EDI orienting towards ACE, both treat ACE's TCU to have reached a completion point. Upon ACE's turn-completion, EDI quickly self-selects after ACE despite having produced a grammatically and prosodically complete TCU in his previous turn in an attempt to extend his turn-at-talk. With his gaze directed towards ACE, EDI, being the first-starter begins to produce his incoming turn by displaying an intention to provide additional information to his previous TCU a[nd:] in line 154. However, TES also self-selects closely after and produces the first part of her incoming TCU in overlap at turn-initial position with EDI's utterance [>but i<] >thin◊k< in line 155, referenced as letter (A1) in the transcript, in which TES fails to gain primary-speakership in this self-selection. Nevertheless, TES' overtly marked display of her opinion [>but i<] >thin◊k< in line 155 gains ACE's gaze trajectory as TES reaches near completion. Moreover, unlike EDI, TES constructs her TCU [>but i<] to display an intention of presenting a contrasting opinion from EDI's previous turn.

After ACE diverts his gaze trajectory to TES in line 155, EDI also alters his head orientation towards TES upon her TCU completion. As EDI establishes gaze with TES, he performs a minimal acknowledgment nod as he vocalizes the continuer token response >+°uh hm°+<= to TES in line 156. EDI's embodied and vocalized response to TES is his attempt to demonstrate his acknowledgment of TES' overlapped utterance as well as exhibiting to her to continue with her utterance. Such an action projects that EDI's resolution to the overlap is to drop out and provide TES with the right to next-primary-speakership. On the other hand, TES also displays an orientation to the registered effect of her overlap and its divergence from maintaining a one-speaker-at-a-time during the discussion upon her response in line 157 =>oh< (.) >okay< (.) <°so↓rrh::y:°> . With a gaze trajectory towards EDI, TES overtly displays a shift in her state-

of-awareness and possible surprise through her voicing of the change-of-state-token =>oh< in line 157. TES extends her display of a change in her state of information with a quickly uttered >okay< in line 157. The >okay< may also act to display her receipt of the overlap and acknowledgement of EDI's overlap resolution of 'dropping out' and handing her the floor for next-primary-speakership. After a micropause in line 157, TES follows-up with a stretched and low-voiced apology <°so↓rrh::y:°> in line 157 as she shifts her gaze trajectory from EDI to ACE in an attempt to maintain solidarity with her fellow test-takers (Luk, 2010). Although TES produces talk in line 157, it does not maintain her primary-speakership to the floor, and as such it has been referenced as letter (A2) in the transcript. EDI also attempts to preserve solidarity through quickly responding to TES with an extended acknowledgment token =°yea∆:h¢°= concurred with a minimal acknowledgment nod to demonstrate his acceptance of her apology in line158.

As EDI approaches near completion of his acknowledgment token to TES' apology in line 158, ACE produces his embodied response to TES' apology. With a gaze trajectory oriented towards TES, ACE leans his right arm slightly forwards towards his co-participants and publicly displays an outward fist gesture and moves it slightly sideways, extending his gesture from lines 158 to 160. As ACE moves his hand sideways, he also slightly but quickly moves his head sideways (see fig. 1.1). Upon TES' gaze shift away from EDI she directs her gaze towards ACE's gestures (see fig. 1.2). The embodied responses of ACE are ACE's attempt to exhibit his acknowledgment of the apology and place an end to the registered effects of the overlap through projecting to TES that 'it is okay' and that she can continue holding the floor as a primary-speaker, also referenced as letter (B1) in the transcript.

Fig. 1.1: As ACE gestures EDI leans back & lowers gaze.

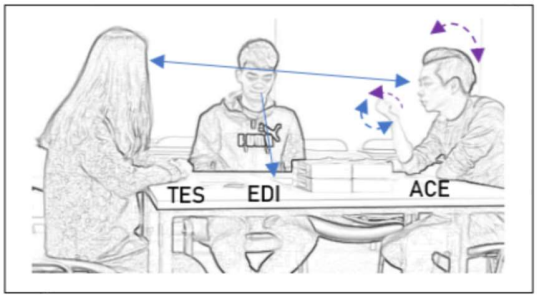
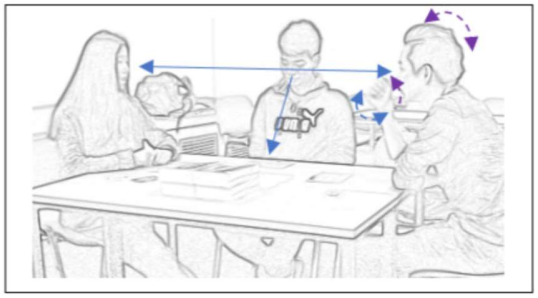


Fig. 1.2: As ACE gestures, ACE & TES establish gaze.



TES immediately self-selects after seeing ACE's embodied displays and maintains her gaze directed towards ACE as she begins with a slightly low-voiced production of her incoming TCU =°an¢o[the+rə: #]°> in line 159, referenced as letter (C) in the transcript. With a gaze trajectory towards TES, ACE quickly follows with a softly-uttered [°ye+aəh°#] in line 160 revealing his acknowledgment to TES' incoming production as well as exhibiting a confirmation to TES to pursue with her self-selection, in his second attempt of enabling TES of maintaining primary-speakership, also referenced as letter (B2) in the transcript. As ACE vocalizes his acknowledgment token [°ye+aəh°#] in line 160, he continues with his embodied display of slightly moving his right hand and head sideways to ensure TES' primary-speakership is established. As ACE demonstrates his orientation to TES as the current-primary-speaker, EDI leans back into his seat, nods and lowers his gaze trajectory to his topic-card (see fig 1.2). TES gazes at EDI's actions and then orients her gaze back to ACE as both she and ACE approach near completion of their overlapping utterances =°an¢o[the+rə: #]°> in lines 159 and [°ye+aəh°#] in line 160. After a micropause in line 159, TES pursues with the production of her TCU with a high-voiced hesitation marker UH∆Aə in line 159 as she continues to have a gaze trajectory towards ACE, establishing through that herself as the primary-speaker. It is then that ACE retracts his arm to its original position and stops his hand and head gesturing.

Through his embodied and vocalized work, ACE, a *non-primary-speaker* adopts the role of an enabler after noticing a delay in the turn-transfer as a result of the overlap's marked effects on EDI and TES. To enable a quicker turn-transition and maintain solidarity within the group, ACE employs embodiment as an attempt to reduce the effects of the overlap on the assessed discussion. Even after TES orients to the embodied displays by ACE and self-selects, ACE pursues with his *enabler* role upon acknowledging TES' hesitation to progress with her self-selection. After ACE addresses TES with his acknowledgment token [°ye+aəh°#] in line 160, TES continues her turn more assertively via her higher-voiced utterance, declaring her right to the floor. As TES purses with her turn-at-talk after the high-voiced hesitation marker UH∆Aə in line 159, she slightly diverts her gaze to her topic-card and utters >BENEFITS in the same high-voiced tone but with an added stress. In her ongoing turn, TES establishes the sub-topic of her TCU and the topic shift she intended to produce during her overlap in line 155 as she uttered [>but i<] >thin◊k< via articulating =°an¢o[the+rə: #]°> (.) UH∆Aə >BENEFITS maybe<+ in line 159.

Excerpt 5.1 displays a visually highlighted analytic summary of the failed self-selection attempt that arose within the excerpt via highlighting the problematic turn-transfer, followed by the multimodal interactional work of the enabler in ensuring a successful self-selection is attained and the self-selector's orientation and uptake after the enabler's facilitation tactics.

Excerpt 5.1: Increased Tourism – "Oh, okay, Sorry"

```
     152 EDI:    to: uha (.) >maintenance the °the°< uha: >tourist PLace<
     153 ACE:    >yeah<
     154 EDI:    a[nd:    ]
A1 — 155 TES:     [>but i<] >thin◊k<
     ace                          ◊Gazes at TES-->>
     156 EDI:    >+°uh hm°+<=
                  +Nods to TES+
A2 — 157 TES:    =>oh< (.) >okay< (.) <°so↓rrh::y:°>=
     158 EDI:    =°yeaΔ:h¢°=
B1 — ace              ΔMakes an outward fist then moves his hand & head sideways-->158.160
     tes                ¢Gazes at ACE-->158.160
C —  159 TES:    =°an¢o[the+rə: #]°> (.) UHΔAə >BENEFITS maybe<+
B2 — 160 ACE:             [°ye+aəh°#]
     tes          -->¢
     ace                                  -->Δ
     edi                    +Nods as he leans back in his seat and gazes downward--------+
     tes                      əGazes at ACE---------ə
     fig                         #1.1/1.2
     161 TES:    .hh >many people can< (.) (OBSERB) (.) uha: (0.2)
```

Fig. 1.1: As ACE gestures EDI leans back & lowers gaze.

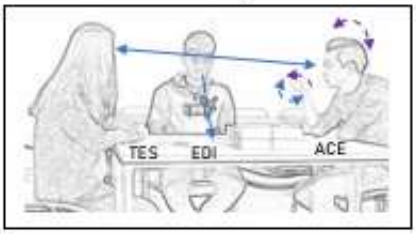
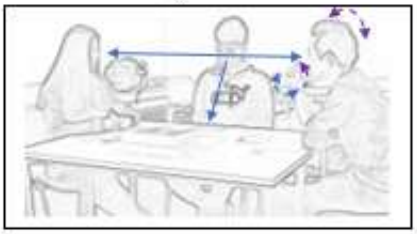


Fig. 1.2: As ACE gestures, ACE & TES establish gaze.



◊ for gaze done by ACE Δ for gestures done by ACE	≈ for gaze done by EDI + for gestures done by EDI
ə/¢ for gaze done by TES ∞ for gestures done by TES	

6.2.2 *Non-Primary Speaker Enables Self-Selector with an Open-Palm Gesture, a Nod & "yeah"*

Setting the Scene:

Excerpt 6 reveals how a hesitant self-selection is enabled to establish primary-speakership and override a delayed other-selection. This assessed group consists of four test-takers, Hani from Saudi Arabi, Karen and Nancy from China and Jaber from Kuwaiti. This group holds a level 'five' proficiency in English. The test-takers have been allocated four minutes to discuss the question 'What do you think are the main benefits and drawbacks of increased tourism?'. Excerpt 6 begins at 1 minute and 3 seconds into the discussion. Prior to the excerpt Nancy had self-selected herself as the first speaker in this assessed group discussion. Excerpt 6 begins with Nancy continuing her extended turn. Upon her completion, she selects Hani as the next-speaker through employing gaze and nodding. Hani orients to and acknowledges the selection but slightly delays his turn-at-talk. As Karen mainly maintains her gaze to her assessment document, she is unaware of the embodied interaction around her and selects herself as a speaker after noticing a relatively extended pause. Jaber then assists Karen in claiming herself as the primary-speaker as Hani attempts to compete with Karen for the floor. Just prior to the excerpt, Nancy was directing her talk to Jaber through slightly orienting her head position in his direction.

Excerpt 6: Increased Tourism – "UM"

Participants: HANi, KARen, NANcy and JABer

```
     46   NAN:    to buy something >to< (0.2) >(seeing)< your <friend>
     47           (.) so it=can: (0.2) (promit) ∂>ec≈on∂omi∞c≈:<#
                                                ∂.....∂Establish gaze w/ HAN->47.50
                                                      ∞Nods to HAN->47.51
          jab                                    ≈Gaze at HAN ≈
          fig                                                #1
     48   (0.2)
A1 — 49   KAR:    >°y[eah um°<
     50   HAN:       [°yea:h°∂
          nan              -->∂
     51   JAB:    yea:h∞
          nan        -->∞
     52           ≈(0.2)+(.)#≈
          jab     ≈Gaze at HAN---≈
          jab           +.....Open palm gesture-->52.53
          fig             #2
A2 — 53   KAR:    U@M#@+::+=
                   @--@
B1 —      jab       -->+,,+
          fig        #3
     54   HAN:    =°a[+:nd°
B2 ┌ 55   JAB:       [+>yeah<
   └      jab         +Leans to KAR & nods-->>
C  — 56   KAR:    I THINK (.) it=also: can@.hh provide@ some (0.2)
                                          @Gazes at JAB ----@
     57           (open=more) opportunity to: the: >nation-< (.) (NA:TI:ES)
```

Fig. 1: NAN & HAN establish gaze & nod. JAB also gazes at HAN & nods.

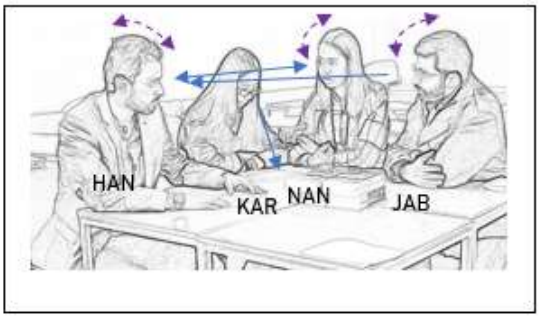


Fig. 2: JAB directs an open-palm gesture towards HAN.

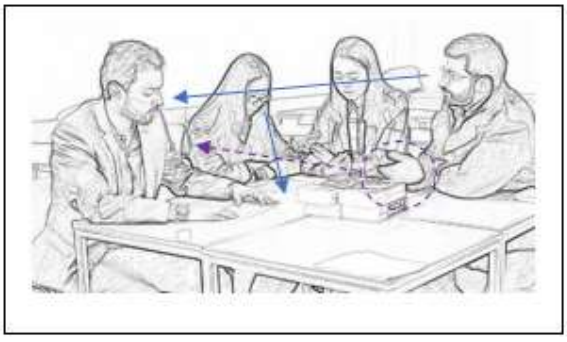
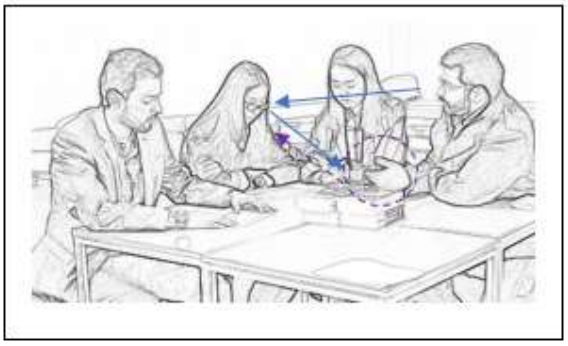


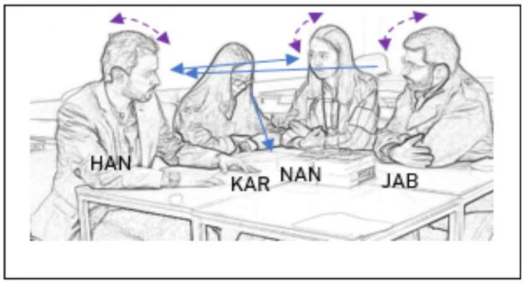
Fig. 3: JAB shifts open-palm gesture to KAR. KAR sees the hand gesture.



◊ for gaze done by HAN Δ for gestures done by HAN	∂ for gaze done by NAN ∞ for gestures done by NAN
@ for gaze done by KAR * for gestures done by KAR	≈ for gaze done by JAB + for gestures done by JAB

Excerpt 6 begins with NAN continuing with her turn-at-talk and providing an example on how increased tourism can flourish the economy. As NAN constructs her TCU in line 46 and 47, HAN maintains his gaze trajectory directed towards NAN in an attempt to display his recipiency with NAN. On the other hand, NAN maintains a lower gaze trajectory during her talk in line 46 while slightly orienting her head position towards JAB. After the micropause in line 47, and upon her utterance of `it=can:` NAN directs her gaze trajectory towards her topic-card and maintains the same gaze direction until voicing the word `(promit)` in line 47. However, with NAN approaching a near TRP with her production of `∂>ec≈on∂omi∞c≈:<#` in line 47, she reorients her gaze trajectory towards HAN. As NAN starts articulating the word `∂>ec≈on∂omi∞c≈:<#` both NAN and HAN establish gaze. JAB orients to NAN's redirected gaze towards HAN and quickly follows suit, reorienting his gaze trajectory from his topic-card to HAN. With a maintained gaze trajectory towards HAN, and as NAN produces the fourth syllable of `∂>ec≈on∂omi∞c≈:<#` NAN addresses HAN with four minimal nods (see fig. 1).

Fig. 1: NAN & HAN establish gaze & nod. JAB also gazes at HAN & nods.



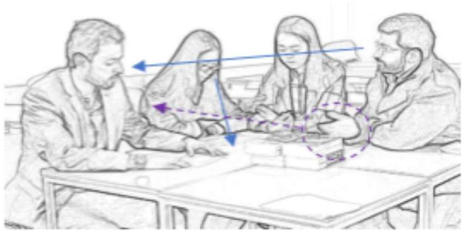
The maintained gaze trajectory and head nods are NAN's attempt to demonstrate to HAN that she has completed her turn-at-talk and is explicitly selecting him for next-primary-speakership. HAN immediately responds to NAN's head nods with two minimal nods followed by an agreeing acknowledgment token `[°yea:h°∂` in line 50, which he produces in overlap with KAR's acknowledgment token in line 49 `>°y[eah um°<` as he is redirecting his gaze trajectory to his topic-card (see fig. 1). HAN's multimodal response demonstrates both his agreement with NAN's utterance and his attempt to exhibit his alignment with her, as well as displaying his orientation as being an incipient speaker. JAB also joins in to display his alignment with NAN and HAN by nodding with them while maintaining a gaze trajectory towards HAN as the selected next-speaker (see fig. 1).

On the other hand, KAR's previous self-selection in line 49 displayed a dual purpose. As the first test-taker to self-select, her utterance >°y[eah um°< in line 49 was not only an attempt to demonstrate her agreement and alignment with NAN but it was an attempt to proceed as the next-primary-speaker via voicing a subsequent hesitation marker. KAR's attempt to hold the floor fails not only because her utterance was produced in overlap at turn-initial position with HAN's utterance, also referenced as letter (A1) in the transcript. KAR's failure is also because she articulates her utterance quickly and softly while maintaining a lowered gaze trajectory to her topic-card (see fig. 1), which prevents the test-takers from recognizing that she had a turn-at-talk and display an orientation towards her. Furthermore, since NAN and JAB were directing their gaze towards HAN and orienting to him as the next-primary-speaker, KAR's low-voiced utterance was not sufficient in reorienting the test-takers' attention towards her.

After KAR and HAN had produced their agreement tokens, JAB pursues with a further display of his alignment and agreement with NAN by redirecting his head position away from HAN towards NAN as he addresses her with the acknowledgment token yea:h∞ in line 51. It is important to note that HAN's and KAR's utterance of the minimal acknowledgement token 'yeah' in lines 49 and 50 after NAN's turn-completion in line 47, in addition to JAB's acknowledgement token in line 51 reference the speakers' readiness to make a topic shift with the next-primary-speaker gaining the floor as the tokens 'yes' and 'yeah' have been recurrently observed to immediately proceed a topic shift and acting as shift markers (Jefferson, 1993)

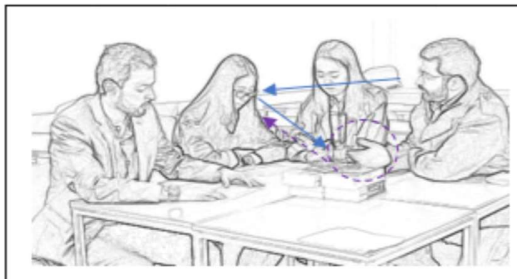
Although JAB reorients towards NAN as he addresses her in line 51, NAN maintains her gaze trajectory projected towards HAN in an attempt to establish his selection as the next-primary-speaker. When JAB completes the production of his utterance, he too redirects his gaze towards HAN orienting to him as the next-primary-speaker. After a 0.2 second pause in line 52, with HAN holding a lowered gaze trajectory towards his topic card, JAB in line 52 forms an open-palm gesture with his right hand and begins directing it towards HAN in attempt to encourage HAN of hastening the production of his incoming TCU to hold the floor as the next-primary-speaker (see fig. 2). With both JAB's gaze and open-palm gesture directed at HAN, HAN begins to open his mouth, to utter his incoming TCU.

Fig. 2: JAB directs an open-palm gesture towards HAN.



In spite of JAB's attempt to provide HAN with the opportunity of claiming primary-speakership, HAN's delay in holding the floor in line 52 opens the opportunity for KAR to self-select in line 53. With KAR persisting with her lowered gaze trajectory to her topic-card, she is unaware that embodiment was used to explicitly select HAN as the next-primary-speaker. KAR's maintained gaze towards her topic-card also prevents her from recognizing that HAN was 'gearing up' to hold the floor during the 0.3 second pause in line 52. KAR had oriented to the relatively extended pause as an opportunity for another self-selection attempt after her first attempt had failed. Upon her self-selection in line 53, also referenced as letter (A2) in the transcript, KAR produces a stretched and high-intonated hesitation marker `U@M#@+::+=` , unlike her first attempt, which gains JAB's attention. Although KAR's self-selection does not gain her primary-speakership, it shifts JAB's gaze and open-palm gesture towards her after HAN had failed to produce any talk (see fig. 3). Even though KAR continues to have a lowered gaze trajectory, she directs her gaze towards JAB's open-palm gesture projected at her, also referenced as letter (B1) in the transcript. JAB's embodied actions directed towards KAR provide her with a confirmation that she can continue to hold the floor as the next-primary-speaker.

Fig. 3: JAB shifts open-palm gesture to KAR. KAR sees the hand gesture.



Alternatively, even though HAN hears KAR's hesitation marker, he attempts to compete for the floor by producing a latching and slightly stretched =°a[+:nd° in line 54 in an attempt to begin the production of his delayed TCU. What JAB performs next is instrumental in enabling KAR of holding the floor as the next-primary-speaker. With his continued orientation towards KAR, JAB purses with enabling KAR of establishing primary-speakership by responding to her hesitation marker with a quick acknowledgment token [+>yeah< in line 55, also referenced as letter (B2) in the transcript projecting that she may continue with her turn-at-talk. In addition to the verbal acknowledgment, JAB displays an embodied acknowledgment to KAR through leaning slightly towards her and nodding as he verbally addresses KAR with the acknowledgment token, referenced as letter (B2) in the transcript. JAB's verbal and embodied responses to KAR halt any further talk by HAN and clear the floor for KAR to establish primary-speakership. With KAR having observed JAB's open-palm gesture towards her and hearing his acknowledgment token, KAR starts to change her seating posture and raise her head away from her topic-card. KAR's embodied reconfigurations display KAR's shift and readiness to hold the floor, and her moving from one action to another, from the state of a listener to a primary-speaker. After KAR displays an embodied readiness, she begins her immediate vocal uptake by articulating her incoming TCU with I THINK (.) it=also: can in line 56, also referenced as letter (C) in the transcript, in which she overtly exhibits her interest in expressing her opinion and in providing additional information on the sub-topic for discussion. KAR pursues with her talk as the primary-speaker by uttering @.hh provide@ some (0.2) (open=more) opportunity in lines 56 and 57. JAB's success in enabling KAR of holding primary-speakership also has KAR recurrently displaying her embodied orientation towards JAB with her projected gaze trajectory until she completes her turn-at-talk. These interactional notions of failed self-selections and facilitating actions of an enabler to ensure the successful claim for primary-speakership by the enabled self-selector are summarized and highlighted in a visually color-coded analytic summarizing Excerpt 6.1.

Excerpt 6.1: Increased Tourism – "UM"

```
      46  NAN:    to buy something >to< (0.2) >(seeing)< your <friend>
      47          (.) so it=can: (0.2) (promit) ∂>ec≈on∂omi∞c≈:<#
                                                ∂.....∂Establish gaze w/ HAN->47.50
                                                      ∞Nods to HAN->47.51
          jab                                     ≈Gaze at HAN ≈
          fig                                                  #1
      48  (0.2)
A1 —  49  KAR:    >°y[eah um°<
      50  HAN:      [°yea:h°∂
          nan               -->∂
      51  JAB:    yea:h∞
          nan       -->∞
      52          ≈(0.2)+(.)#≈
          jab     ≈Gaze at HAN---≈
          jab           +.....Open palm gesture-->52.53
          fig             #2
A2 —  53  KAR:    U@M#@+::+=
                  @--@
B1 —      jab       -->+,,+
          fig       #3
      54  HAN:    =°a[+:nd°
B2 ┌  55  JAB:      [+>yeah<
   └      jab       +Leans to KAR & nods-->>
C  —  56  KAR:    I THINK (.) it=also: can@.hh provide@ some (0.2)
                                              @Gazes at JAB ----@
      57          (open=more) opportunity to: the: >nation-< (.) (NA:TI:ES)
```

Fig. 1: NAN & HAN establish gaze & nod. JAB also gazes at HAN & nods.

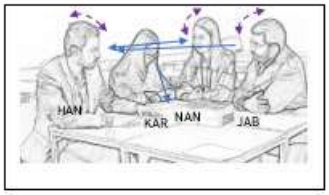


Fig. 2: JAB directs an open-palm gesture towards HAN.

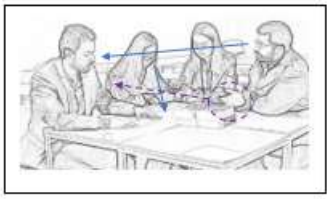
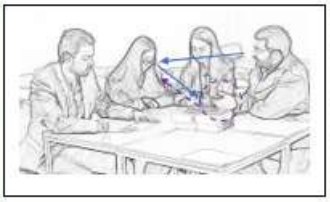
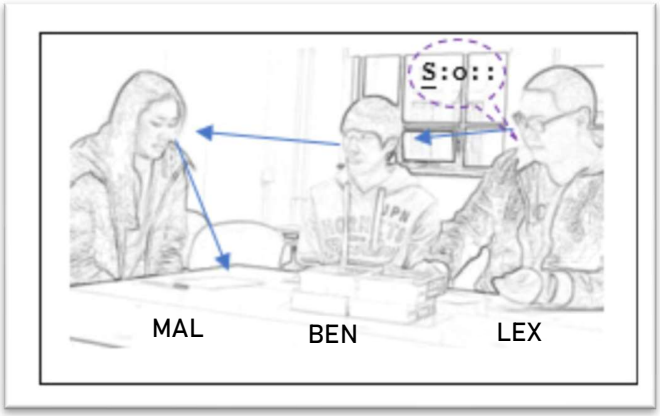


Fig. 3: JAB shifts open-palm gesture to KAR. KAR sees the hand gesture.



◊ for gaze done by HAN Δ for gestures done by HAN	∂ for gaze done by NAN ∞ for gestures done by NAN
@ for gaze done by KAR * for gestures done by KAR	≈ for gaze done by JAB + for gestures done by JAB

6.2.3 *Non-Primary Speaker Enables Self-Selector with a Stand Alone – 'So' and Gaze*



Setting the Scene:

Excerpt 7 demonstrates another form of how a *non-primary-speaker* enables a struggling self-selector gain next-primary-speakership. The group consists of three test-takers, Mal from Kazakhstan, Ben and Lex from China, and all three test-takers hold a level 'five' proficiency in English. The test-takers have been allocated three minutes to discuss the question 'What is volunteer work? Can you give examples of volunteer work that people do?'. Just prior to the excerpt, Mal had self-selected herself to provide her stance on the topic, but quickly repairs and orients to the other test-takers. The excerpt begins in the first few seconds of the discussion, with Mal addressing both of her co-participants with her opening sequence. Nonetheless, as Mal unfolds her turn, she explicitly addresses Lex and does not realize Ben's attempt to display his recipiency towards her to claim next-primary-speakership. When Lex, a *non-primary-speaker* orients to Ben's continued display of recipiency towards Mal, a non-gazing primary-speaker, Lex adopts the role of an *enabler* and encourages Ben to pursue with his claim for primary-speakership.

Excerpt 7: Volunteer Work – "So"
Participants: MAL, BEN, LEX

```
        11  MAL:    e◊ha: (.) SO: GU:◊YS¥: (.) Δlet'∂s≈ talk=abou:t#
                     ◊Gazes at both BEN & LEX◊
                                  ¥Gazes at topic card-->11.12
                                       ΔLeans torso towards topic card-->11.12
A1 —        ben                           ∂Gazes at topic card-->11.12
            lex                             ≈Gazes at topic card-->11.13
            fig                                                  #1
        12  MAL:    (0.3) Δvolun∂∞teer WO:R∞∂k∂ (.) uha:::m¥ (.)
                       -->Δ
                                                          -->¥
            ben              -->∂
A2 —        ben                 ∞Lifts head & nods∞
A3 —        ben                                 ∂Gazes at MAL∂
        13  MAL:    >◊Do=you have ∂any# i◊de≈as∂:?<≈
                     ◊Gazes at LEX ------------◊
A4 —        ben                  ∂Gazes at MAL ----∂
            lex                          -->≈Gazes to MAL & BEN≈
            fig                      #2
        14  (0.2)
B —     15  LEX:    ≈#°S:o≈::°
                    ≈Gazes at BEN≈
            fig      #3
        16  (0.2)
C —     17  BEN:    um: (.) i=>°think°< (.) >↑volunteer work is=uha<
        18          (.) to: >HELP< .hh °uha° some ↑people: (.)
```

Fig.1: MAL gazes at her topic card & BEN and LEX follow suit.

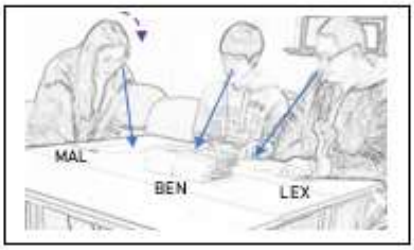
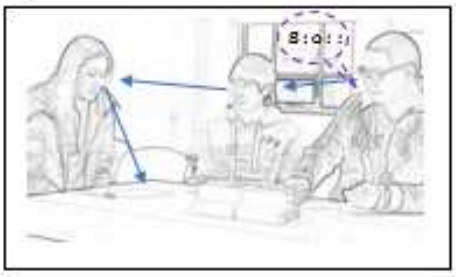


Fig.2: While MAL gazes at LEX as she is addressing her question, BEN gazes at MAL.

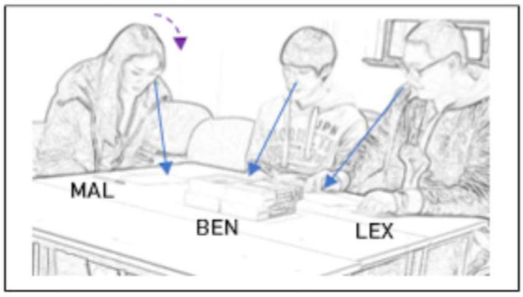
Fig.3: LEX gazes at BEN and produces a stand-alone 'so'.



◊/¥ for gaze done by MAL Δ for gestures done by MAL	∂ for gaze done by BEN ∞ for gestures done by BEN
≈ for gaze done by LEX + for gestures done by LEX	

Excerpt 7 begins with MAL raising her gaze trajectory from the assessment document in front of her and addressing both co-participants who have established their gaze on her with an opening sequence SO: GU:◊YS¥: in line 11. As MAL produces SO: GU:◊ she quickly directs her gaze orientation at both LEX and BEN to display an intention of addressing both test-takers. After MAL produces GU:◊ in line 11, she begins to lower her gaze trajectory back to the topic-card in front of her as she completes producing the extended 's' sound in GU:◊YS¥:. After having gained the gaze direction of both co-participants, MAL continues to address them both as her intended recipients by uttering △let'∂s≈ in line 11. In doing so, MAL has offered both test-takers to join her in producing the next action. With a maintained gaze on MAL, both test-takers orient to MAL's embodied action of leaning forward towards her topic-card as she begins uttering the word △let'∂s≈. Following MAL's orientation to the assessment document, BEN quickly follows suit and redirects his gaze orientation from MAL to his topic-card after MAL completed producing △let'∂ in line 11 in an attempt to display recipiency with MAL, as referenced as letter (A1) on the transcript. LEX also shifts his gaze trajectory to his topic-card as MAL reaches the end of the production of the word △let'∂s≈. BEN and LEX's redirected orientation to their topic-cards after MAL's orientation to hers demonstrates their understanding that they were both intended as addressees to her utterance, and as such both joined her in orienting to their topic-cards to perform the next intended action (see fig.1). Their gaze reorientation also displays their careful monitoring of MAL's actions as a primary-speaker, thereby to display their recipiency to her to gain next-primary-speakership.

Fig.1: MAL gazes at her topic card & BEN and LEX follow suit.

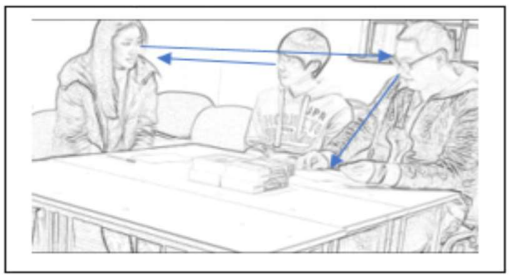


With a continued orientation from the test-takers to their topic-cards in line 11, MAL continues with her turn-at-talk, this time stating the purpose of their gathering which is to talk=abou:t (0.3) ∆volun∂∞teer WO:R∞∂k∂ . To establish the topic for discussion amongst the test-takers in line 12, MAL shifts her seating posture, lifting her torso back up as she utters the topic for discussion ∆volun∂∞teer WO:R∞∂k∂ , though producing the utterance with a continued lowered gaze trajectory to her topic-card. Following MAL's shifting posture, BEN follows suit by raising his head after MAL had uttered the first two syllables of the word ∆volun∂∞teer in line 12 to visually demonstrate to MAL his displayed recipiency, also referenced as letter (A2) in the transcript. When MAL begins the production of the word WO:R∞∂k∂ in line 12, BEN produces a minimal acknowledgment nod displaying his acknowledgment of the topic for discussion and alignment with MAL, also referenced as letter (A2) in the transcript. BEN follows with a quick gaze shift towards MAL as she reaches a near completion of the word WO:R∞∂k∂ , also referenced as letter (A3) in the transcript. However, as MAL continues to have a lowered gaze trajectory towards her topic-card, BEN's actions of alignment and displayed recipiency towards her went undetected by MAL. After attempting to display his recipiency to MAL, BEN reorients to his topic-card with MAL continuing to orient her gaze to her topic-card.

When MAL has completed the production of her invitation to BEN and LEX to join her in the discussion of ∆volun∂∞teer WO:R∞∂k∂ she follows with a micropause, an extended hesitation marker and a further micropause (.) uha:::m¥ (.) in line 12 during which MAL and her co-participants continue to have their gaze directed towards their topic-cards. The extended hesitation marker along with the dual micropauses prior and after the hesitation marker provide MAL with time to formulate her incoming TCU. MAL begins her next TCU in line 13 by reorienting her gaze trajectory from the assessment document to LEX. To invite LEX into the discussion, MAL formulates her incoming TCU as a question, a first-pair-part of an action sequence >◊Do=you have ∂any# i◊de≈as∂:?<≈ . MAL begins to produce the verb>◊Do with her gaze directed at LEX. However, since BEN and LEX have their gaze directed towards their topic-cards, MAL's gaze direction becomes unobserved from either of the participants.

As MAL pursues with addressing her question in line 13, BEN raises his head away from his topic-card and shifts it in MAL's direction as he hears her uttering the pronoun you . BEN reorients his head direction towards MAL and establishes his gaze on her as she begins pronouncing the word ∂any# in her question (see fig. 2), also referenced as letter (A4) in the transcript. BEN's persevering demonstrations of orientation towards MAL are his attempt to display recipiency and gain next-primary-speakership. On the other hand, as BEN maintains his orientation towards MAL to display his recipiency MAL has her gaze directed at LEX as she continues constructing her question.

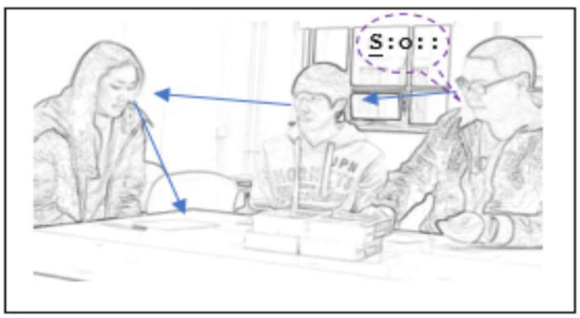
Fig.2: While MAL gazes at LEX as she is addressing her question, BEN gazes at MAL.



When MAL has produced the first syllable of the word i◊de≈as∂:?< in line 13, she lowers her gaze back to her topic-card as she completes the utterance of the word i◊de≈as∂:?< without having established gaze with LEX. Determining the intended recipient of you becomes problematic for BEN in this multi-party-talk as the opening sequences invite both test-takers to self-select and join in the discussion SO: GU:◊YS¥: (.) △let'∂s≈ talk=abou:t (0.3) △volun∂∞teer WO:R∞∂k∂ in lines 11 and 12. Though, upon constructing her question, you becomes explicitly addressed to LEX via a short-lived gaze trajectory. In spite of that, BEN persists with his gaze towards MAL (see fig. 2). When MAL has uttered the second syllable in i◊de≈as∂:?< in line 13, LEX raises his head away from his topic-card and gazes towards MAL who at that moment has a lowered gaze trajectory. Since LEX orients to MAL after she has diverted her gaze trajectory to her topic-card, LEX is unaware that he was the intended recipient to provide the second-pair-part to MAL's addressed question. MAL's short-lived gaze trajectory towards her co-participants and continued gaze diversion to the assessment document produces struggles in creating a successful next-turn-transfer.

Nevertheless, upon orienting to MAL, LEX orients that BEN's head is directed towards MAL despite her lowered gaze trajectory. As MAL produces the extended 's' in i◊de≈asə:?< in line 13, BEN shifts his gaze back to his topic-card in a further attempt to exhibit his continued recipiency with MAL and claim incipient speakership, after which he shifts his gaze direction back to MAL. As LEX holds a forward seating posture, he gazes at BEN's reorientation to MAL. After a 0.2 second pause in line 14, and as MAL continues to have a lowered gaze trajectory (see fig. 3), LEX with a continued gaze at BEN addresses him with an extended but softly stressed "stand-alone so" ≈#°S:o≈::° (Bolden, 2009; Raymond, 2004) in line 15 (see fig. 3). LEX begins to produce the prosodically marked stand-alone 'so' °S:o≈::° in line 15, also referenced as letter (B) in the transcript, with his gaze oriented towards BEN. He then shifts his head direction away from BEN and gazes back to his topic-card as he reaches near completion of ≈#°S:o≈::° . LEX's gaze direction towards BEN during his initiation of the prosodically marked stand-alone 'so' acts to elicit BEN to pursue with his self-selection and provide a response to MAL's question (Clayman, 2013; Stivers and Rossano, 2010).

Fig.3: LEX gazes at BEN and produces a stand-alone 'so'.



After a 0.2 second pause in line 16, BEN displays his uptake by beginning his turn-at-talk in line 17 with a hesitation marker followed by a display of his viewpoint about the already established topic amongst the test-takers um: (.) i=>°think°< (.) >↑volunteer work is=uha< , which is also referenced as letter (C) in the transcript. BEN orients to LEX's projected stand-alone 'so' ≈°S:o≈::° in line 15 as a prompt to produce the next relevant action (Bolden, 2009; Raymond, 2004; 2009), which in this sequence is to produce the second-pair-part for MAL's addressed question in line 13 >◊Do=you have ∂any# i◊de≈asə:?<≈ and to launch the discussion about 'volunteer work'. LEX's collaborative work of self-selecting to prompt BEN to

produce the next relevant action and then deselecting himself from primary-speakership assists in making a successful turn-transition from the current-speaker to another test-taker. It also enables BEN after having produced numerous unacknowledged attempts of displayed incipiency to the current-speaker to successfully hold the floor as a primary-speaker and produce his speech sample for assessment, which are highlighted in the accompanying visually highlighted analytic Excerpt 7.1.

Excerpt 7.1: Volunteer Work – "So"

```
11  MAL:    e◊ha: (.) SO: GU:◊YS¥: (.) Δlet'∂s≈ talk=abou:t#
             ◊Gazes at both BEN & LEX◊
                                  ¥Gazes at topic card-->11.12
                                      ΔLeans torso towards topic card-->11.12
A1 — ben                                          ∂Gazes at topic card-->11.12
     lex                                          ≈Gazes at topic card-->11.13
     fig                                                  #1
12  MAL:    (0.3) Δvolun∂∞teer WO:R∞∂k∂ (.) uha:::m¥ (.)
               -->Δ
                                                  -->¥
     ben              -->∂
A2 — ben                   ∞Lifts head & nods∞
A3 — ben                                  ∂Gazes at MAL∂
13  MAL:    >◊Do=you have ∂any# i◊de≈as∂:?<≈
             ◊Gazes at LEX ------------◊
A4 — ben                          ∂Gazes at MAL ----∂
     lex                                  -->≈Gazes to MAL & BEN≈
     fig                          #2
14  (0.2)
B — 15  LEX:    ≈#°S:o≈::°
                ≈Gazes at BEN≈
     fig         #3
16  (0.2)
C — 17  BEN:    um: (.) i=>°think°< (.) >↑volunteer work is=uha<
18              (.) to: >HELP< .hh °uha° some ↑people: (.)
```

Fig.1: MAL gazes at her topic card & BEN and LEX follow suit.

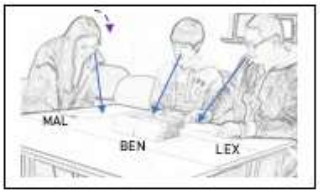
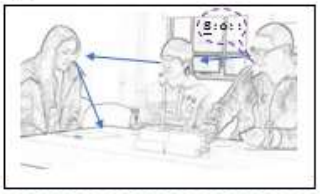


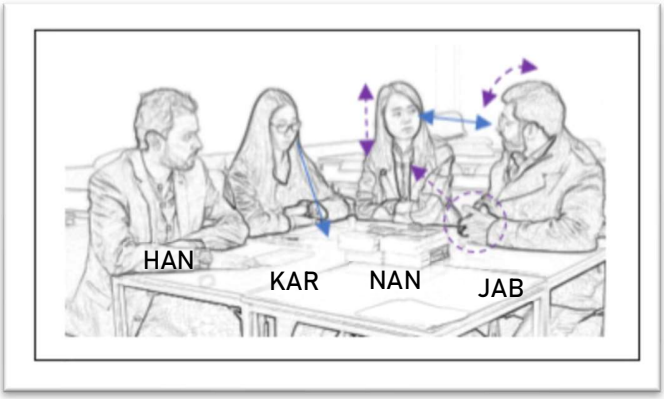
Fig.2: While MAL gazes at LEX as she is addressing her question, BEN gazes at MAL.

Fig.3: LEX gazes at BEN and produces a stand-alone 'so'.



◊/¥ for gaze done by MAL Δ for gestures done by MAL	∂ for gaze done by BEN ∞ for gestures done by BEN
≈ for gaze done by LEX + for gestures done by LEX	

6.2.4 *Non-Primary Speaker Enables Self-Selector via Index Pointing, 'You' & 'Go'*



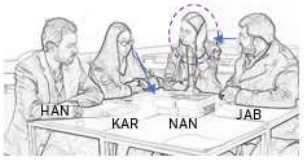
Setting the Scene:

Excerpt 8 reveals the collaborative work of a *non-primary-speaker* in ensuring that one of the test-takers succeeds in claiming primary-speakership even though the current speaker does not orient to the participant's displays for recipiency. Excerpt 8 demonstrates how the publicly displayed embodied arrangements between the test-taker attempting to display recipiency and a *non-primary-speaker,* who adopts the role of an *enabler* succeed in gaining the incipient speaker the right to the floor through the enabler's deselection of himself from primary-speakership. The participants in this assessed group discussion are the same participants we have come across in excerpt 6. The test-takers are Hani (HAN), Karen (KAR), Nancy (NAN) and Jaber (JAB). In this sequence, the test-takers are continuing with their discussion about 'the main benefits and drawbacks of increased tourism'. The excerpt begins at 3 minutes and 34 seconds into the discussion, with 26 seconds remaining to the termination of the assessment time. Hani and Jaber had at least two opportunities to elaborate on the topic for discussion prior to the sequence. The excerpt starts with Karen pursuing with her second turn-at-talk, though Nancy remains with having had only one turn to the floor. Prior to the sequence, Karen had self-selected to respond to Hain's addressed question to Jaber about the economic effects of having foreign people work in the transport sector. Excerpt 8 begins with Karen continuing with her extended response to the question.

Excerpt 8: Increased Tourism – "Yeah" "Go"
Participants: HANi, KARen, NANcy and JABer

	113	**KAR:**	>because when< (0.2) uha: (.) <tourism> (0.3) come mo:re
	114		(.) than before and=uha .hhh ∞ua: ∞≈it# (.) speci-∞≈ (.)
A1→		nan	∞.....∞Caresses her hair-------∞
		jab	≈Gazes at NAN's gesture--≈
		fig	#1
	115	**KAR:**	uha <especial> like=in the: ↑HOLI<day>
A2	116		∂(0.3)∂
		nan	∂Gazes at KAR & nods∂
	117	**JAB:**	<yea≈h>
			≈Shifts gaze to NAN-->117.119
	118	**KAR:**	>the-<=
B1→	119	**JAB:**	=>°∂y+ou:°<#=
		nan	∂Establishes gaze with JAB & nods -->119.120
		jab	+Gestures and nods to NAN-->119.120
		fig	#2
	120	**KAR:**	=>°then° we∂ will be+ have=uha< ∞.hhh <∞very# stressful:∞>
		nan	-->∂
		jab	-->+
C1→		nan	∞.....∞ Strokes her hair --------∞
		fig	#3
	121	**KAR:**	∞(.) ∞TRANSP#orts
C2→		nan	∞.....∞Places her fingers on topic card-->121.124
		fig	#4
	122		(0.4)
	123	**NAN:**	>°yeah°<
B2→	124	**JAB:**	+>°g#o°<+
			+Points ---+
		fig	#5
C3→	125	**NAN:**	>°and°< (.) >i think it was< uha:: (0.3) number of the:∞
			-->∞
	126		(.) tourism: (.) increased:

Fig. 1: JAB gazes at NAN as she caresses her hair.



◊ for gaze done by HAN Δ for gestures done by HAN	∂ for gaze done by NAN ∞ for gestures done by NAN
@ for gaze done by KAR * for gestures done by KAR	≈ for gaze done by JAB + for gestures done by JAB

Fig.2: JAB points to NAN with his left index finger as they establish gaze and nod.

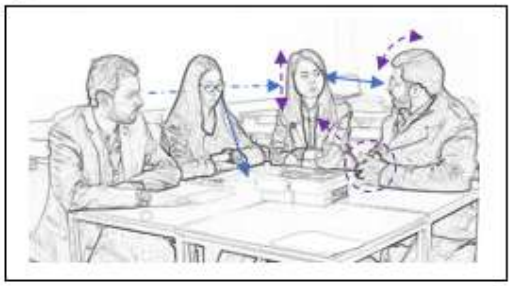


Fig.3: JAB gazes at NAN as she strokes her hair.

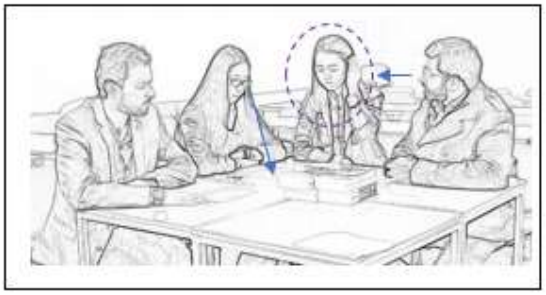


Fig.4: JAB gazes at NAN placing her fingers on her topic card.

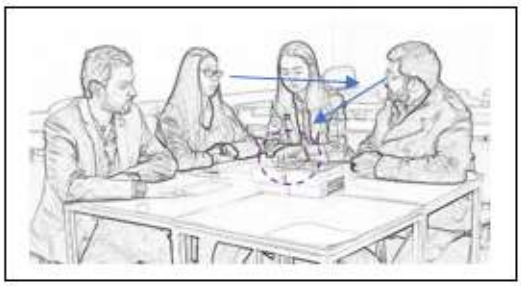
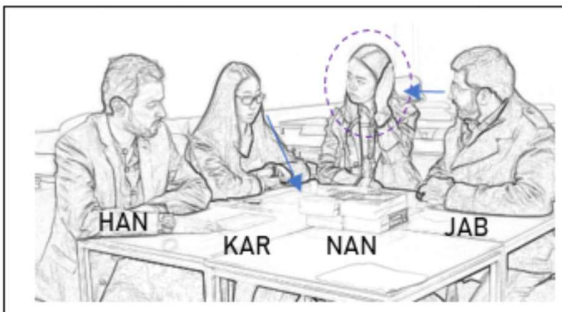


Fig.5: JAB gazes at NAN as he points with his index finger and says 'Go'.

Excerpt 8 starts with KAR continuing the construction of her extended TCU in lines 113 and 114 about the influx of tourism. During the production of her TCU, KAR frequently diverts her gaze trajectory between her topic-card and JAB. With KAR holding an extended turn-at-talk, NAN begins her first attempt to display recipiency to KAR as she utters `come mo:re` in line 113 via providing a minimal acknowledgment nod. Though, with her gaze directed towards JAB, KAR does not see NAN's minimal acknowledgment. When KAR progresses with her TCU in line 114, uttering `and=uha` and taking an audible inbreath `.hhh` NAN reorients her gaze trajectory from KAR's topic-card to KAR. After the inbreath, KAR produces a hesitation marker `∞ua:` in line 114 at which NAN, while maintaining her gaze at KAR changes her seating posture through slightly leaning back and raising her arm to her head. When KAR starts to voice `∞≈it# (.) speci-∞≈` in line 114 NAN begins caressing her hair as she continues to hold her gaze directed at KAR in attempt to display recipiency to KAR, also referenced as letter (A1) in the transcript. As KAR utters `∞≈it# (.) speci-∞≈` , she too changes her seating posture, sitting up-straight but maintaining a lowered gaze trajectory (see fig. 1). KAR's lowered gaze trajectory prevents her from orienting to NAN's pre-beginning displays of recipiency as well as NAN's directed gaze towards her. On the other hand, JAB who has been seated in close proximity to NAN and has been leaning forward to maintain his gaze directed towards KAR, orients to NAN's hand gesture and diverts his gaze direction from KAR to NAN (see fig. 1).

Fig. 1: JAB gazes at NAN as she caresses her hair.



After KAR cuts off the production of `speci-∞≈ (.)` in line 114, she attempts to pursue with her turn-at-talk by uttering the hesitation marker `uha` in line 115 followed by a self-initiated repair of the cut off speech `<especial>` . When KAR has completed the utterance of

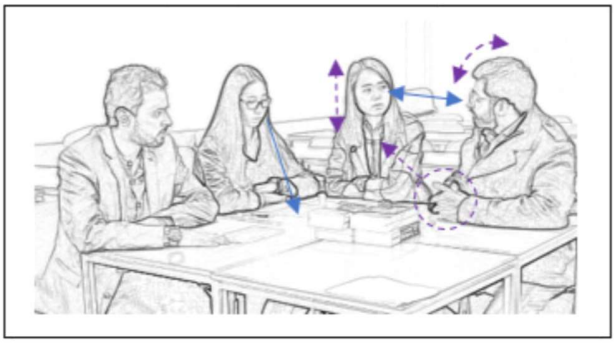
<especial> and began her production of like=in in line 115, NAN redirects her gaze from KAR to her topic-card. As KAR proceeds with her turn and starts with the prosodically manipulated utterance of ↑HOLI<day> in line 115, she shifts her gaze trajectory from her topic-card to JAB. As KAR produces the low-voiced and-slowly-uttered third syllable <day> in the word ↑HOLI<day> , NAN raises her gaze back to KAR orienting that KAR is reaching a near TRP with the end of her production. After KAR completes her TCU, she pauses for 0.3 seconds in line 116, during which NAN exhibits her recipiency again to KAR via providing another minimal acknowledgment nod as she maintains her gaze on KAR, referenced as letter (A2) in the transcript. Though, with a continued gaze trajectory towards JAB, KAR does not orient to NAN's persisting embodied displays of recipiency.

With a prosodically, grammatically and pragmatically complete TCU, and after a 0.3 second pause, JAB responds to KAR with the agreement token <yea≈h> in line 117. In addition to exhibiting his agreement with KAR's utterance by voicing <yea≈h> , JAB's response also displays an orientation that KAR has completed her turn-at-talk and has selected him for next-primary-speakership via her extended and maintained gaze towards him from the time she reached a near TRP until he began with the production of his acknowledgment token <yea≈h> . As JAB approaches near the end of his utterance <yea≈h> he redirects his gaze orientation from KAR to NAN in an attempt to hand over his turn-at-talk to NAN after having previously oriented to NAN's failed attempts to display recipiency with KAR. In doing so, JAB adopts the role of an enabler to enable NAN of holding the floor after NAN had failed to claim incipiency for next-primary-speakership from the current-speaker. When JAB has completed his utterance of <yea≈h> in line 117, NAN starts to divert her gaze slowly towards JAB, orienting to him as the next-primary-speaker. With JAB's gaze projected towards NAN and NAN approaching with her gaze shift towards JAB, KAR self-selects and begins to produce her following TCU in line 118 with a cut-off of >the-<= preventing JAB's enabling attempt of assisting NAN of claiming next-primary-speakership. In spite of KAR's self-selection, NAN persists with her head shift towards JAB, who has already established his gaze on NAN.

With NAN failing to gain the primary-speaker's attention and secure next-primary-speakership, and with the primary-speaker's gaze orienting towards JAB, NAN's gaze shifts

towards JAB as an attempt to draw JAB's attention to her displayed acts of recipiency and claim next-primary-speakership from JAB. JAB orients to NAN's gaze shift as such, and upon his establishment of gaze with NAN he produces a quick and softly uttered =>°ə<u>y</u>+ou:°<#= to NAN in line 119, also referenced as letter (B1) on the transcript, as he points to her with his index-finger and nods consecutively (see fig. 2). NAN responds with immediate reciprocal nods to JAB demonstrating an understanding that JAB will enable her of claiming next-primary-speakership after KAR's turn-at-talk (see fig. 2). The embodied interaction pursues as KAR constructs her ongoing TCU in line 120. This publicly displayed multimodal agreement between JAB and NAN is observed by HAN (see fig. 2), though KAR with her lowered gaze trajectory to her topic-card remains unaware of the embodied interaction.

Fig.2: JAB points to NAN with his left index finger as they establish gaze and nod.



NAN's gaze shift towards JAB not only allows her to claim next-primary-speakership from a participant other than the current-speaker, it also establishes JAB's role as an enabler after his first attempt of handing-over his turn was over-ridden with KAR's self-selection in line 118. As KAR pursues with her turn-at-talk in line 120, and upon taking an audible inbreath ∞.hhh , NAN begins to exhibit her embodied pre-beginning displays to claim incipient speakership. NAN raises her left hand to her head, and while KAR utters <∞very# stress<u>ful</u>:∞> in line 120, NAN strokes her hair attempting to display incipiency with KAR to claim next-primary-speakership, gaining through that JAB's gaze direction once more (see fig. 3), also referenced as letter (C1) in the transcript. On the other hand, KAR's diverted orientation to the assessment document in her production of <∞very# stress<u>f</u> prevents her from directing her gaze to NAN's embodied action. Although KAR raises her head away from the topic-card in the final syllable of

stressful:∞> in line 120, she does not orient to NAN as she strokes the ends of her hair, rather KAR orients her gaze trajectory towards JAB. After a micropause, and with KAR reaching a near TRP with her prosodically manipulated production of the word ∞TRANSP#orts in line 121, NAN places her fingers on her topic-card in her second attempt to claim herself as the next-primary-speaker (see fig. 4), also referenced as letter (C2) on the transcript. JAB immediately lowers his gaze towards NAN's established fingers on the topic card (see fig. 4). JAB maintains his orientation to NAN's pre-beginning embodied displays as a claim for primary-speakership and so begins to reorient his head and gaze direction towards NAN when KAR has completed voicing ∞TRANSP#orts in line 121.

Fig.3: JAB gazes at NAN as she strokes her hair.

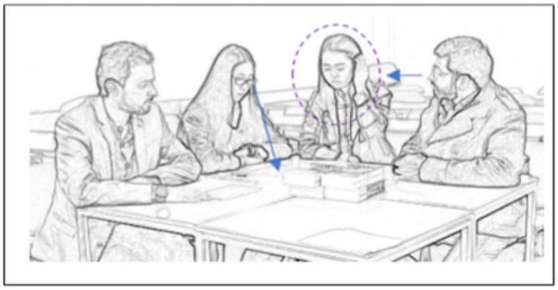
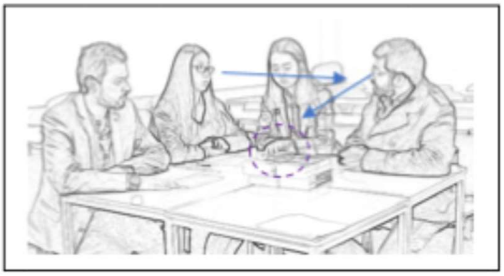


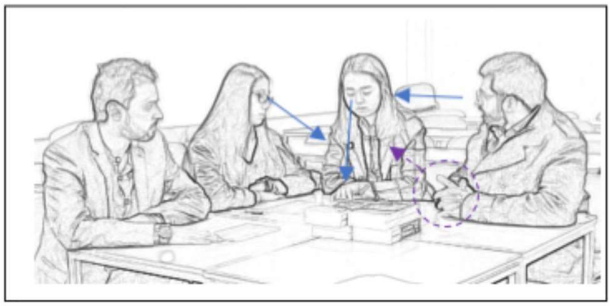
Fig.4: JAB gazes at NAN placing her fingers on her topic card.



With the completed production of ∞TRANSP#orts KAR nods to JAB, revealing that she has completed her turn-at-talk, and confirming her selection of JAB with her maintained gaze trajectory towards him. Nevertheless, to pursue with the adopted role of the enabler and enable NAN of holding the floor after his selection for primary-speakership by KAR, the current primary-speaker, JAB reorients his head and gaze direction towards NAN so that she may claim primary-speakership. As JAB shifts his head and gaze towards NAN during the 0.4 second pause in line 122, he publicly displays his deselection of himself from primary-speakership to NAN. In his head orientation towards NAN, JAB gains the attention of both KAR, the current-speaker and HAN, and both follow suit in redirecting their head and gaze trajectories towards NAN. In addition, NAN only begins to hold the floor after JAB's orientation towards her. NAN starts by providing a quick and softly-voiced acknowledgment token >°yeah°< in line 123 displaying through that her alignment with KAR. After NAN has only produced an acknowledgment token, JAB addresses

NAN with a quick and softly-voiced ‘go ahead’ response +>°g#o°<+ as he points to her with his index-finger in line 124, also referenced as letter (B2) in the transcript, in his second attempt of enabling NAN to the floor and ensuring her success in claiming herself for primary-speakership prior to exam termination (see fig. 5).

Fig.5: JAB gazes at NAN as he points with his index finger and says ‘Go’.



After employing voice and embodiment to confirm NAN’s right to the floor, via the ‘go ahead’ response and index-pointing in line 124, NAN displays an immediate uptake, also referenced as letter (C3) in the transcript, via commencing the construction of her incoming TCU in line 125 with >°and°< (.) >i think referencing and overtly expressing that her opinion in her incoming turn will relate to the original topic for discussion, increased tourism , uttering (.) tourism: (.) increased: in line 126. JAB’s persistence in exercising his role as an enabler through deselecting himself from primary-speakership to NAN enables NAN of successfully claiming herself as the next-primary-speaker despite having had previous failed attempts to display recipiency to the primary-speaker. In addition, JAB’s perseverance in adopting the role of the enabler comes after NAN orients to JAB with her claims of recipiency, and by that NAN gains the support from JAB to successfully establish herself as the next-primary-speaker. See Excerpt 8.1 for a visually highlighted analytic summary highlighting the problematic turn-transfer in the excerpt and the main interactional work leading up to establishing the interactional role of the enabler as well as the enabled participant’s orientation and uptake in spite of the variant turn-allocation practice that arises amongst the participants.

Excerpt 8.1: Increased Tourism – "Yeah" "Go"

```
      113 KAR:    >because when< (0.2) uha: (.) <tourism> (0.3) come mo:re
      114         (.) than before and=uha .hhh ∞ua: ∞≈it# (.) speci-∞≈ (.)
A1→       nan                                   ∞.....∞Caresses her hair--------∞
          jab                                       ≈Gazes at NAN's gesture--≈
          fig                                            #1
      115 KAR:    uha <especial> like=in the: ↑HOLI<day>
      116         ∂(0.3)∂
A2        nan     ∂Gazes at KAR & nods∂
      117 JAB:    <yea≈h>
                      ≈Shifts gaze to NAN-->117.119
      118 KAR:    >the-<=
B1→   119 JAB:    =>°∂y+ou:°<#=
          nan         ∂Establishes gaze with JAB & nods -->119.120
          jab           +Gestures and nods to NAN-->119.120
          fig                 #2
      120 KAR:    =>°then° we∂ will be+ have=uha< ∞.hhh <∞very# stressful:∞>
          nan              -->∂
          jab                    -->+
C1→       nan                                   ∞.....∞ Strokes her hair --------∞
          fig                                            #3
      121 KAR:    ∞(.) ∞TRANSP#orts
C2→       nan     ∞.....∞Places her fingers on topic card-->121.124
          fig               #4
      122 (0.4)
      123 NAN:    >°yeah°<
B2→   124 JAB:    +>°g#o°<+
                  +Points ---+
          fig         #5
C3→   125 NAN:    >°and°< (.) >i think it was< uha:: (0.3) number of the:∞
                                                                    -->∞
      126         (.) tourism: (.) increased:
```

Fig. 1: JAB gazes at NAN as she caresses her hair.

Fig.2: JAB points to NAN with his left index finger as they establish gaze and nod.

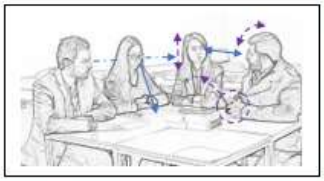


Fig.3: JAB gazes at NAN as she strokes her hair.

Fig.4: JAB gazes at NAN placing her fingers on her topic card.

Fig.5: JAB gazes at NAN as he points with his index finger and says 'Go'.

◊ for gaze done by HAN Δ for gestures done by HAN	∂ for gaze done by NAN ∞ for gestures done by NAN
@ for gaze done by KAR * for gestures done by KAR	≈ for gaze done by JAB + for gestures done by JAB

6.3 Summary

The analysis of the excerpts presented in chapter six reveals two reasons that a self-selecting next speaker may struggle in claiming next-primary-speakership. The first is that a participant's pre-beginning displays of recipiency fail to gain the primary-speaker's attention. The lack of mutual gaze and the distinct orientation interests play a role in making the turn-transfer from the current-speaker to a self-selector challenging. A *non-primary-speaker* may orient to the incipient speaker's displays prior to a TRP or at a TRP and adopt the role of an *enabler* via the employment of voice and embodiment to facilitate the turn-transfer to the struggling self-selector and assist them in gaining a right to the floor.

Another challenge self-selectors face is selecting the appropriate time to begin their turn-at-talk. Although a self-selector may be carefully monitoring fellow participants prior to self-selecting, an early starter may face coming in at an overlap with other participants. The effects of an overlap may be more noticeable in an assessed discussion and so take longer to resolve, creating a delay in claiming next-primary-speakership. A *non-primary-speaker* may adopt the role of an *enabler* to assist the relevant parties in ending the aftermath and hasten the turn-transfer.

On the other hand, when a self-selector or the primary speaker reduces their visual sphere through mainly orienting to their assessment document, they may lose sight of the embodied work that occurs between the other group members and fail to notice the selection of another participant to the floor. Self-selectors may face challenges in establishing themselves to primary-speakership when there are other competing voices to the floor. However, the embodied and vocal orientation of other participants, such as the *enabler* to the self-selector become instrumental in enabling the self-selector to establish themselves to primary-speakership. As the analysis indicates, the contributions of an *enabler* may facilitate a smoother turn-transfers to a self-selector and assist them in gaining a right to the floor even with the presence of other competing voices.

Chapter 7: Analysis. Facilitating a Speech-Platform to Passive Test-Takers

7.1 Introduction

One of the features attributed to mundane conversation is that the length of time a group of people are allowed to talk for is not pre-allocated (Sacks *et al.*, 1974). Unlike mundane conversation, participants in group-oral-assessments are given a specified amount of time to display their second language capabilities to an examiner. Despite this variance between mundane conversation and group-oral-assessments, both types of "speech-exchange systems" (Sacks *et al.*, 1974, p. 701) share other conversational features. For example, in both types of talk, the participants' turn-size at talk are not pre-specified and the participants may vary their length of talk as they construct their conversation. Nonetheless, gaining the interactional floor during the tightly-timed group oral assessed discussions may at times become challenging for a test-taker when co-participants exercise their right to hold extended turns-at-talk.

Although most test-takers attain a platform to exhibit their language proficiency to the examiners, some test-takers may gain fewer opportunities in establishing themselves as primary-speakers with the presence of competing voices in the discussions. In spite of the myriad research revealing the appealing attributes of group-oral-assessments, such as its authenticity as a task (Bachman and Palmer, 1996), and its ability to stimulate discussions similar to those that L2 learners may have in their language classrooms (He and Dai, 2006; Ockey, 2009), there are researchers who have expressed concern about the amount of talk each test-taker may be entitled to during the group-oral-assessment discussions and the impact that may have on the test-scores (Liski and Puntanen, 1983; Berry, 2004; Ockey, 2009). As it is vital that all test-takers display a speech sample for assessment, this chapter investigates the test-takers' orientations to the institutional goal of ensuring a speech platform is provided to all group members to display their speech sample for assessment prior to the exam termination. The chapter presents how *non-primary-speakers* adopt the role of an *enabler* via utilizing voice and embodiment in an attempt to provide a speech platform to a passive co-participant who has been delayed from primary-

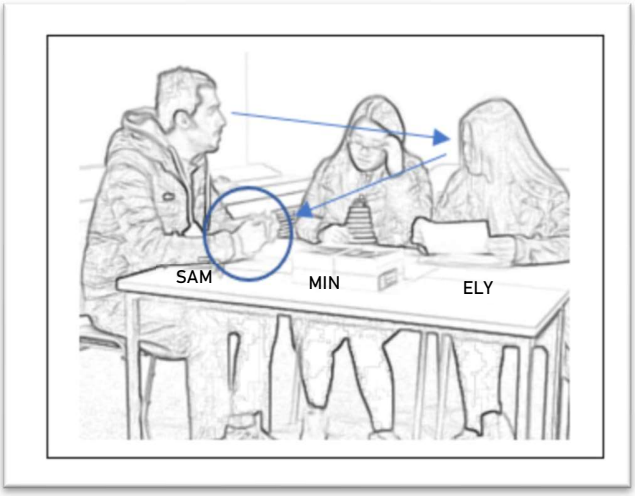
speakership either as a result of other test-takers holding extended turns-at-talk or conducting extended repair sequences. The analysis reveals the ways the *non-primary-speaker* collaborates with other test-takers to ensure an equal opportunity to the floor is provided to every group member, even when there are no displays of recipiency by the group member. To enhance the reader's understanding of the interactional sequence, the transcripts have been marked with letters (A to E), with each letter referring to a specific action in the sequence.

As in the previous chapters, some letters may be accompanied by a number, demonstrating the number of attempts for a specific action. Letter (A) – refers to the talk delaying a turn-transfer to another participant, either an extended turn-at-talk or an extended repair sequence. The transcripts then present two distinct actions that an enabler performs to ensure a successful turn-transfer from the current-speaker to the passive participant. First, the *enabler* employs voice and embodiment to exhibit their acknowledgment or confirm their understanding to the current-primary-speaker as letter (B) represents. Letter (C) then demonstrates the *enabler's* second action, that of selecting the passive recipient to primary-speakership via employing voice and embodiment, including gaze and an addressed question. Letter (D) – presents the uptake by the passive recipient. Some excerpts may include letter (E) – which exhibits the *enabler's* persisting displays of orientation towards the enabled participant to ensure the participant gains an extended right to the floor.

7.2 Facilitating a Speech-Platform to Passive Test-Takers during Group Oral Assessments

This section presents the analysis of three distinct cases of a *non-primary-speaker* adopting the role of an *enabler* to facilitate a turn-transfer to a passive test-taker. Through the employment of voice and embodiment, the *enabler* creates an opportunity for a passive co-participant to gain the floor after s/he has been delayed from primary-speakership either due to other test-takers holding extended turns-at-talk or conducting extended repair sequences.

7.2.1 *Non-Primary Speaker Facilitates a Speech-Platform via Gaze, Hand Gesture & "What about?*



Setting the Scene:

Excerpt 9 reveals how a *non-primary-speaker* enables a passive participant to the floor after previously failing to maintain an extended turn-at-talk. The test-takers in Excerpt 9 are Sami (SAM) from Saudi Arabia, Mina (MIN) and Ely from China. The test-takers hold a level 'four' proficiency in English and they have been allocated three minutes to discuss the question 'What do you think are the main problems when starting a new business'. Earlier in the discussion, Ely self-selects and begins to quietly provide her stance on the topic. Though, Mina also self-selects closely after, and cuts-off Ely's talk. Ely does not gain a further opportunity to floor during the group-oral-assessment until Sami facilitates a successful turn-transfer for her in excerpt 9. Excerpt 9 reveals how Sami, a *non-primary-speaker* adopts the role of an *enabler* via utilizing voice and embodiment to provide Ely with a platform to display her speech sample for assessment after a previous failed attempt to maintain primary-speakership for more than 6 seconds. Excerpt 9 begins at 2 minutes into the discussion, with Mina continuing with her extended turn-at-talk. With one-minute remaining until the exam termination, Sami succeeds in providing Ely with an additional opportunity to display a speech sample for assessment in spite of Mina's continued competition for the floor.

Excerpt 9: Starting a Business – "I agree with you" "What' about?"
Participants: SAMi, MINa and ELY

A1	78	**MIN:**	money is very <important:=uha> .hhh <if=you::>=
	79		=<want to °uha°> (.) <have a new busi[ness:]>
	80	**SAM:**	[ye:s]
	81	(0.2)	
	82	**SAM:**	>°of° course<
	83	**MIN:**	>yeah<
	84	(0.2)	
A2	85	**MIN:**	>◊how#< mo◊ney=i:n: (.) .hh i- >if=you<
		sar	◊Gaze at ELY-◊
		fig	#1
	86	**MIN:**	(DON'Ta)=HA:VE uha ENOUGH <MO:NEY:>
	87		.hhh uha (.) (starting) a=n- new:
	88		business may (.) be (.) <mee-tin:g:>
	89		(.) >some< (diffi <°cul:-°> tc:y::)
B	90	**SAM:**	YES (.) I=agree wi◊th yo[u:
	91	**MIN:**	[>°yeah°<=
		sam	◊Gazes at ELY-->>
C	92	**SAM:**	=what #Δabou:t?Δ
			ΔHand gestureΔ
		fig	#2

Fig. 1: SAM gazes at ELY.

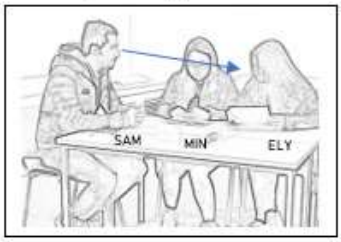
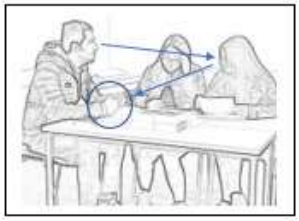
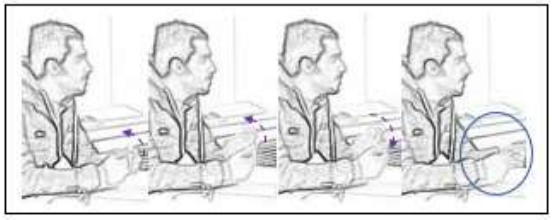


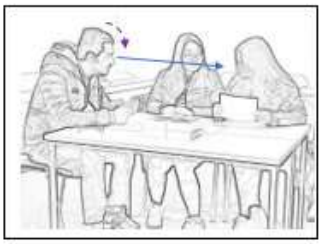
Fig. 2: SAM moves his LH in a half-circular motion around the right hand as he says "about". ELY gazes at the gesture.





	93	(0.2)	
D	94	**ELY:**	>°yea:h°< (.) ◊°and° i °thiΔnk°# (0.4) the: (0.3)Δ
		sam	Δ Leans head forward towards ELY --Δ
		fig	#3
	95	**ELY:**	Δ<BEFOre:> (0.4) <°start aΔ business°> (.) h- (.)
E1		sam	ΔProduces four consecutive nods to ELY ---Δ
	96		before the (>half yea:r<)
	97	**SAM:**	°uhm:°
	98	(2.0)	
	99	**ELY:**	≈>maybe:≈< °uha:°
			≈.....≈Shifts gaze to topic card-->99.100
	100		(3.5)≈(0.2)
		ely	-->≈

Fig. 3: SAM leans his head towards ELY.

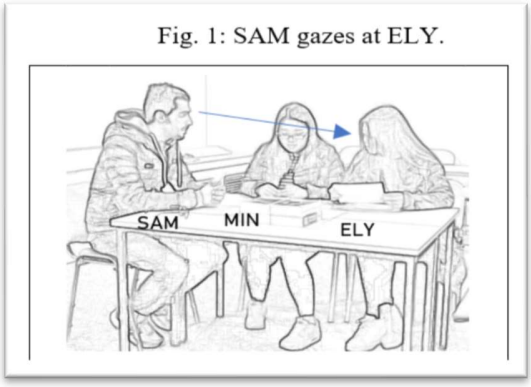


E2— 101 **SAM:** >°yeah y[eah°]<
102 **MIN:** [>may]be-?<
103 **ELY:** Δthe money: is (0.2) [(all)]Δ [(°have°)]
E3— 104 **SAM:** [yeah]
sam ΔFive consecutive minimal nods to ELY ------Δ
105 **MIN:** [YEAH]
106 **ELY:** so:=
E4— 107 **SAM:** =yeah=
108 **ELY:** =(>°should=[have it°<)

◊ for gaze done by SAM Δ for gestures done by SAM	≈ for gaze done by ELY + for gestures done by ELY

Excerpt 9 begins with MIN providing her account on the importance of having a substantial amount of money when starting a new business. As MIN produces <have a new busi[ness:]> in line 80, her turn is seen by SAM as approaching a possible TRP with the end of the word busi[ness:]> . In addition to the TCU being grammatically and prosodically complete, the anticipation that MIN is reaching a near completion is further projected with MIN diverting her gaze trajectory from her topic-card to SAM as she begins uttering the word busi[ness:]> in line 80, also referenced as letter (A1) in the transcript. This results in SAM displaying a positive evaluation of MIN's utterance as well as a strong affiliation with her through quickly producing an affirmative response token [ye:s] in line 81, overlapping it with MIN's utterance of busi[ness:]> at turn-terminal position. When MIN completes the production of busi[ness:]> she redirects her gaze from SAM to her topic-card, during which ELY continues with her still motion, gazing at MIN's topic-card (see fig. 1). After a 0.2 second pause in line 82, SAM reconfirms his positive evaluation of MIN's utterance through articulating a non-minimal response token >°of° course< in line 82 displaying through that his assessment of the content in MIN's talk. As SAM completes the production of >°of° course< he shifts his gaze away from MIN and with a slightly lowered gaze position maintains it forward, demonstrating his orientation that MIN has completed her turn prior to his assessment of her talk and that the conversation has reached a possible TRP. It is then that MIN with her continued gaze trajectory to her topic-card responds to SAM with a receipt token >yeah< in line 83 where she exhibits her acknowledgment of his positive assessment, but also reveals a possible preparation to continue holding the floor as a primary-speaker despite ELY not gaining an opportunity to hold an extended turn-to-the-floor. After a 0.2 second pause in line 84, while SAM and MIN are continuing to hold diverse gaze trajectories and ELY is persisting with her gaze towards MIN's topic-card, MIN self-selects again for primary-speakership in line 85, also referenced as letter (A2) in the transcript.

Fig. 1: SAM gazes at ELY.



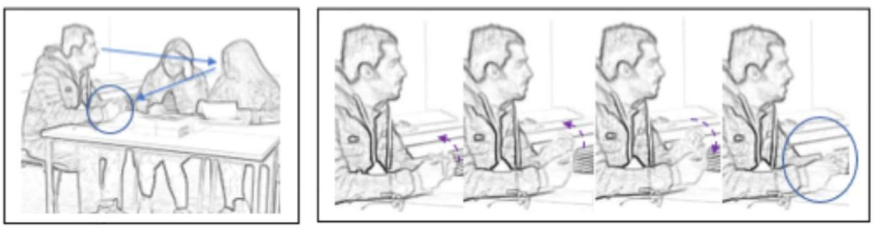
As MIN begins constructing her next TCU with >◊how#< mo◊ney= in line 85, SAM directs his gaze towards ELY (see fig. 1). Though, when SAM observes that ELY is maintaining her gaze trajectory towards MIN's topic-card, SAM reorients his gaze trajectory back to MIN as she pursues with her extended turn-at-talk from lines 85 to 89. As MIN elaborates during her turn-at-talk, she unveils a struggle in constructing her TCU from line 88 by repeatedly pausing throughout her utterance in addition to stretching some of her words while articulating them slowly may (.) be (.) <mee-tin:g:> (.) >some< (diffi <°cul:-°> tc:y::). The perceived struggle gains ELY's attention, diverting her gaze from MIN's topic-card to MIN. When MIN starts vocalizing (diffi <°cul:-°> tc:y::) in line 89, she shifts her gaze trajectory towards SAM while hesitantly articulating the word, in an attempt to ensure SAM's understanding of her pronunciation. After MIN's head shifts towards SAM, ELY also follows suit and directs her gaze from MIN to SAM. When MIN adds a stretched c:y:: to diffi <°cul:-°> forming through that a grammatically incorrect word, MIN nods to SAM potentially in attempt to gain a confirmation that he has understood her utterance. SAM orients to MIN's embodiment as such and immediately responds to her with a reciprocal nod and an affirmative response token YES in line 90. After receiving a positive confirming response from SAM, MIN begins to reorient her gaze back to her topic-card. As MIN's gaze diverts back to her topic-card, SAM immediately addresses her with another strong confirmation and agreeing utterance I=agree wi◊th yo[u: in line 90, displaying through that a strong affiliation towards MIN and the content of her talk, also referenced as letter (B) in the transcript. SAM's strongly demonstrated agreement towards MIN's talk after her head shift towards her topic-card reveals an anticipation that MIN is attempting to progress with her primary-speakership, but SAM's production of the agreeing utterance in line 90 acts to halt MIN's pursuit for a further extended turn-at-talk. SAM's articulation of I=agree wi◊th yo[u: also exhibits his pursuit and readiness to move forward with the sub-topic under discussion as well as attempting to create a shift from the current action to a next. As the phrase I=agree wi◊th yo[u: in line 90 attempts to create a topic shift in the current discussion, other researchers have observed that recipients may also conduct topic shifts after having provided short assessments such as "Oh lovely" or "That's good" (Antaki *et al*., 2000). Moreover, creating a change in primary-speakership is another perceived perception in SAM's response to MIN, in that he shifts his gaze trajectory towards ELY as he is approaching near completion of his utterance, at half-way through his production of wi◊th in line 90. SAM's articulation of I=agree wi◊th

yo[u: in line 90 to MIN also acts as his first attempt of enabling ELY to floor as the next-primary-speaker.

As SAM directs his gaze towards ELY with the articulation of wi◊th in line 90, ELY's gaze is also directed towards SAM. However, as soon as SAM establishes gaze with ELY, she lowers her gaze trajectory while continuing to maintain her head position forward. Despite lowering her gaze trajectory, SAM persists with his gaze orientation towards ELY as he completes the construction of his agreeing response to MIN in line 90. As SAM reaches near completion of his utterance in line 90 with the articulation of a slightly stretched singular pronoun yo[u: , MIN with her gaze directed to her topic-card responds to SAM with a quick receipt token [>°yeah°<= in line 91, briefly overlapping SAM's utterance at turn-terminal position. In addition to displaying an acknowledgment to SAM's agreeing response I=agree wi◊th yo[u: in line 90, MIN also reveals an affiliation towards SAM through her quick response in line 91. Alternatively, MIN's brief overlap with SAM's talk at turn-terminal position also projects her orientation to SAM as reaching a near completion with his utterance. The persistent gaze direction to her topic-card when quickly responding with [>°yeah°<= in line 91 followed by a stroke of her hair also indicates a readiness to proceed with primary-speakership.

When MIN completes her articulation of her receipt token [>°yeah°<= in line 91, SAM immediately self-selects and constructs a latching TCU in line 92 =what #∆abou:t?∆ as he persists with his gaze trajectory towards ELY, referenced as letter (C) in the transcript, in his second attempt of enabling ELY to the floor . Although ELY does not establish gaze with SAM, she directs her gaze towards SAM's hand gesture as he vocalizes #∆abou:t?∆ , in which he moves his left hand in a half-circular motion around his right hand (see fig. 2).

Fig. 2: SAM moves his LH in a half-circular motion around the right hand as he says "about". ELY gazes at the gesture.



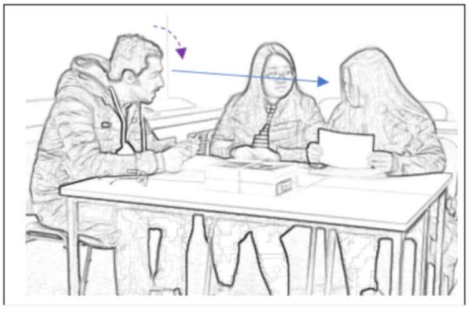
With SAM formulating his TCU as a question, he explicitly demonstrates his intention in moving forward with the discussion and placing an end to MIN's extended turn-at-talk. His explicit selection of ELY via his gaze orientation towards her also explicitly reveals SAM's intention to halt MIN's extended turn and provide ELY with an opportunity to gain next-primary-speakership. The articulation of =what #∆abou:t?∆ as a WH-question, not only mandates a turn-transfer to the addressed recipient, ELY, but it also displays that the question, the first-pair part of the action sequence intends to seek detailed information from the addressee, creating through that an opportunity for the addressee to hold an extended second-pair part. During SAM's production of his question, MIN's gaze was oriented to her topic-card as she stroked her hair (see fig. 2). When SAM completes the articulation of his question there is a 0.2 second pause in line 93 during which MIN drops her hand from her hair, changes her seating posture via raising her back and shifting her head towards SAM. When MIN diverts her gaze trajectory towards SAM she notices SAM gazing at ELY. Although MIN's embodied reconfiguration slightly shifts SAM's gaze towards MIN, he quickly redirects his gaze back to ELY. After the 0.2 second pause in line 93, ELY demonstrates her uptake, also referenced as letter (D) in the transcript, via holding the floor in line 94 with >°yea:h°< (.) ◊°and° i °thi∆nk°# where she first reveals a readiness to make a shift in her state from being a listener to a primary speaker. ELY exhibits her attempt to pursue with the current topic under discussion with her vocalization of ◊°and° in line 94, then pursuing with her point of view on the topic with i °thi∆nk°#.

Excerpt 9 reveals how SAM plays a pivotal role in providing ELY, a passive test-taker, with a platform to gain next-primary-speakership to provide a speech sample for assessment. With the presence of a co-participant persisting with her attempts to hold an extended turn-at-talk, SAM adopts the role of an enabler to ensure a speech platform is provided to all the group members involved in the group-oral-assessment. To ensure moving forward with the discussion and changing MIN from primary-speakership, SAM employs two strategies. First, upon self-selecting in line 90, he addresses MIN with an agreeing and confirming response I=agree wi◊th yo[u: in an attempt to end her turn to the floor. However, when MIN displays an intention to pursue with her turn, SAM quickly re-selects himself to primary-speakership, not for the purpose of revealing his stance on the topic, but to specifically select ELY, the co-participant with the least turns to the floor to gain next-primary-speakership. Utilizing gaze and an addressed question to ELY, SAM succeed in halting MIN's turn-at-talk and enables ELY from gaining an opportunity to the floor.

SAM's role as an enabler is paramount in enabling ELY, the low-voiced participant in gaining primary-speakership prior to exam termination. When SAM adopts the role of an enabler 42 seconds prior to exam termination, he pursues to ensure ELY maintains her right to the floor.

As ELY articulates her intention to provide her opinion on the topic for discussion °thi∆nk°# in line 94, SAM leans his head forward displaying his orientation towards her. SAM's display of orientation towards ELY gains MIN's attention, encouraging her to shift her head position towards ELY (see fig. 3). After revealing her intent to provide her opinion, ELY reveals a struggle in constructing her TCU in lines 94-95 through the varied and extended pauses (0.4) the: (0.3)∆ ∆<BEFOre:> (0.4) <°start a∆ business°> (.) h- (.) . Despite her trouble in pursuing with her turn, SAM maintains his gaze towards ELY while addressing her with consecutive minimal acknowledgment nods in line 95, encouraging her to pursue with the construction of her utterance and maintain primary-speakership, also referenced as letter (E1) in the transcript. In fact, SAM's persistence in adopting the role of an enabler succeeds in maintaining ELY with the right to the floor even with a 2.0 second pause in line 98 and a 3.7 second pause in line 100 through SAM's maintained gaze trajectory towards ELY, as well as after MIN self-selects in line 102 in an attempt to claim herself as a primary-speaker. After a 3.7 second pause in line 100, SAM encourages ELY to continue with her right to the floor through his articulation of a double continuer token >°yeah y[eah°]< in line 101, referenced as (E2) in the transcript, encouraging ELY to hasten her display of a speech sample for assessment. Though, when SAM produces his second continuer token MIN comes in overlap in line 102 producing [>may]be-?< . However, as SAM maintains his gaze oriented towards ELY and nods consecutively, ELY pursues with her turn in line 103, making MIN redirect her gaze from SAM back to ELY.

Fig. 3: SAM leans his head towards ELY.



Excerpt 9 reveals that adopting the role of an enabler does not necessarily end with halting a primary-speaker's turn and enabling another co-participant with less turns-to-the-floor from gaining primary-speakership. The enabler may pursue with their involvement, employing various embodied and vocal resources to maintain the co-participant's right to the floor, as SAM further employs in lines 104 and 107, referenced as letters (E3) and (E4) in the transcript, especially with the presence of other participants competing for primary-speakership. Excerpt 9.1 displays a visually highlighted analytic summary of the problematic turn-transfer to a passive participant and the main interactional work leading up to establishing the interactional role of the enabler, in addition to the enabler's persisting role in ensuring the sustained primary-speakership of the enabled participant to display a speech sample for assessment prior to exam termination.

Excerpt 9.1: Starting a Business – "I agree with you" "What' about?"

A1	78	**MIN:**	money is very <important:=uha> .hhh <if=you::>=
	79		=<want to °uha°> (.) <have a new busi[ness:]>
	80	**SAM:**	[ye:s]
	81	(0.2)	
	82	**SAM:**	>°of° course<
	83	**MIN:**	>yeah<
	84	(0.2)	
A2	85	**MIN:**	>◊how#< mo◊ney=i:n: (.) .hh i- >if=you<
		sam	◊Gaze at ELY -◊
		fig	#1
	86	**MIN:**	(DON'Ta)=HA:VE uha ENOUGH <MO:NEY:>
	87		.hhh uha (.) (starting) a=n- new:
	88		business may (.) be (.) <mee-tin:g:>
	89		(.) >some< (diffi <°cul:-°> tc:y::)
B	90	**SAM:**	YES (.) I=agree wi◊th yo[u:
	91	**MIN:**	[>°yeah°<=
		sam	◊Gazes at ELY-->>
C	92	**SAM:**	=what #Δabou:t?Δ
			ΔHand gestureΔ
		fig	#2
	93	(0.2)	
D	94	**ELY:**	>°yea:h°< (.) ◊°and° i °thiΔnk°# (0.4) the: (0.3)Δ
		sam	Δ Leans head forward towards ELY --Δ
		fig	#3
	95	**ELY:**	Δ<BEFOre:> (0.4) <°start aΔ business°> (.) h- (.)
E1		sam	ΔProduces four consecutive nods to ELY ---Δ
	96		before the (>half yea:r<)
	97	**SAM:**	°uhm:°
	98	(2.0)	
	99	**ELY:**	≈>maybe:≈< °uha:°
			≈.....≈Shifts gaze to topic card-->101.102
	100		(3.5)≈(0.2)
		ely	-->≈

Fig. 1: SAM gazes at ELY.

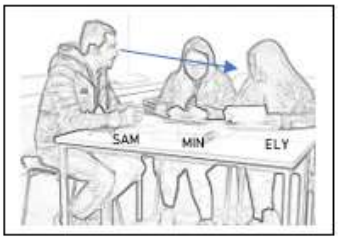


Fig. 2: SAM moves his LH in a half-circular motion around the right hand as he says "about". ELY gazes at gesture.

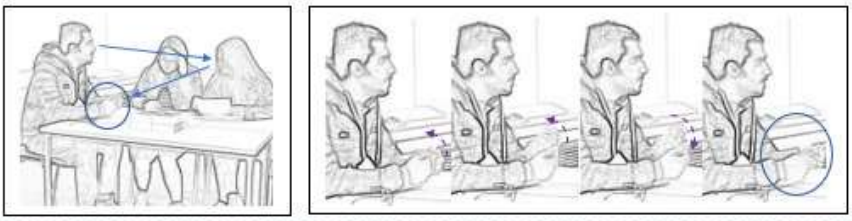


Fig. 3: SAM leans his head towards ELY.

E2→ 101 **SAM:** >°yeah y[eah°]<

102 **MIN:** [>may]be-?<

103 **ELY:** Δthe money: is (0.2) [(all)]Δ [(°have°)]

E3→ 104 **SAM:** [yeah]

sam ΔFive consecutive minimal nods to ELY ------Δ

105 **MIN:** [YEAH]

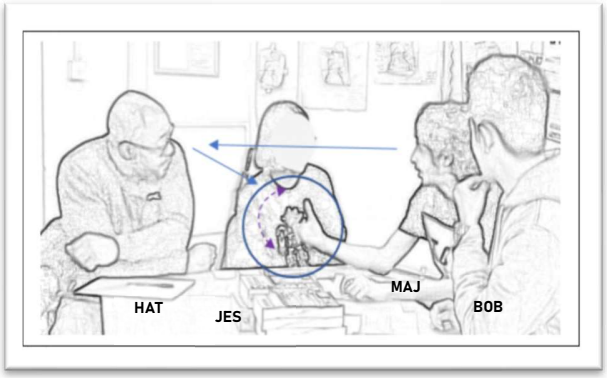
106 **ELY:** so:=

E4→ 107 **SAM:** =yeah=

108 **ELY:** =(>°should=[have it°<)

◊ for gaze done by SAM Δ for gestures done by SAM	≈ for gaze done by ELY + for gestures done by ELY

7.2.2 *Non-Primary Speaker Facilitates a Speech-Platform via Hand Gesture & "What do you think about the reaction from this lady?"*



Setting the Scene:

Excerpt 10 demonstrates the interactional work of a *non-primary-speaker* in ensuring a speech platform is provided to a test-taker who was unable to claim speakership during a group-oral-assessment. The test-takers in this excerpt are Hatim (HAT) and Majid (MAJ) from Saudi Arabia, and Jessy (JES) and Bob from China. The test-takers hold a level 'four' proficiency in English and they have been allocated four minutes to discuss the question 'What positive qualities or characteristics are important in a student class representative'. Excerpt 10 reveals how the *non-primary-speaker*, Majid, adopts the role of an *enabler* via utilizing voice and embodiment to halt an extended turn-at-talk to provide Hatim, the only test-taker unable to gain the floor with a platform to display his speech sample for assessment. Prior to the excerpt Majid, Jessy and Bob had each gained two opportunities to the floor. Although Hatim had competed for primary-speakership, his competitors, Bob and Jessy were quicker in self-selecting and claiming primary-speakership. Excerpt 10 begins at 2 minutes and 16 seconds into the discussion, with Bob continuing with his second turn-to-the-floor. As soon as Bob completes his turn, Jessy self-selects for a third time even though Hatim did not gain an opportunity to speak. Excerpt 10 displays how Majid attempts to provide Hatim with an opportunity to the floor as Jessy attempts to extend her turn-to-the-floor, and with only 1 minute and 12 seconds remaining till the exam termination.

Excerpt 10: Class Representative - "the reaction from this lady"
Participants: HATim, JESy, MAJid, and BOB

	71	**BOB:**	maybe: (.) >maybe I- I think< that in the- in the schoo:l
	72		uha: or >as a< (.) o:r (.) uha (.) a different >CLASS<=
┌→	73	**JES:**	=∞.hhh# >bu:t<∞ [someti:]mes °i:n class° <°the:°>
	74	**BOB:**	[>yeah<]
		jes	∞Extends LH to MAJ∞
		fig	#1
A1	75	**JES:**	=°teacher::° have (.) >°maybe a good time to teach some-°<
	76		<so:mething> i:n the class but we don't have >a lot of<
	77		>ti:me< to discu:ss it >and like you say before this< (.)
	78		may- uha >maybe we have some pe-< (.) >some person< or
	79		>some problem comes our way< (.) can <talk> and uha (.)
└→	80		make something and (.) >and i< [↑think]=uha (.)
B1 →	81	**MAJ:**	[>YEAH<]
A2 →	82	**JES:**	um: (.) Δum:: >wh[en everything]< >°is°<Δ [>in: class<]=
B2 →	83	**MAJ:**	[>Yeah<] [>YE:S YE:S<]
		maj	ΔProduces minimal nods to JES ----------Δ
A3 →	84	**JES:**	=>sa[me cl◊a]ss<=
B3 →	85	**MAJ:**	[>YEA◊H<]
C1 →		maj	◊Gazes at HAT-->>
A4 →	86	**JES:**	=>°and[Δuha]°<
┌→	87	**MAJ:**	>[ΔAND] WHAT DO YOU THINK Eha about< EHA:::: (.) the
		maj	ΔElevates arm & makes semi-open palm gesture while pointing thumb at JES-->87.89
C2	88	**MAJ:**	#RE↑ACTION from=Uha:: (.) eha::: (0.2) ehe:: (.) this
		fig	#2
└→	89	**MAJ:**	ehe: uha: eha:: >laΔdy<
			-->Δ
A5 →	90	**JES:**	∞HE::A-∞ ∂(0.2) °u∂hm°#
			∞Extends arm∞
			∂Shifts head to HAT∂
		fig	#3
D →	91	**HAT:**	UHA:: >o¢kay i ¥thin:k< (0.2)¥ <she:'s: ri::ght> (.)
			¢Gazes at topic card-->>
			¥Shifts topic card to himself¥
	92		°but° (.) °i°=h:ave one POINT about [thiS]Δ:: (.)
E →	93	**MAJ:**	[yeah]Δ
		maj	ΔLeans towards HAT-->>
	94	**HAT:**	abou:t >in cla:ss< or outside of cla:ss .hhh

◊ for gaze done by MAJ Δ for gestures done by MAJ	∂ for gaze done by JES ∞ for gestures done by JES
¢ for gaze done by HAT ¥ for gestures done by HAT	

Fig. 1: JES extends her left hand towards MAJ.

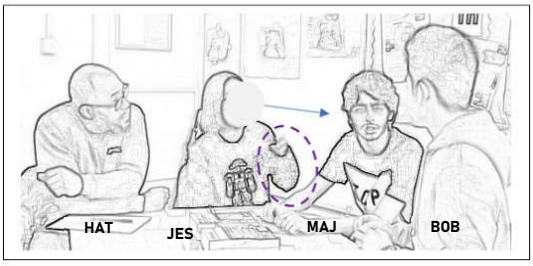


Fig. 2: MAJ elevates arm & makes semi-open palm gesture to HAT.

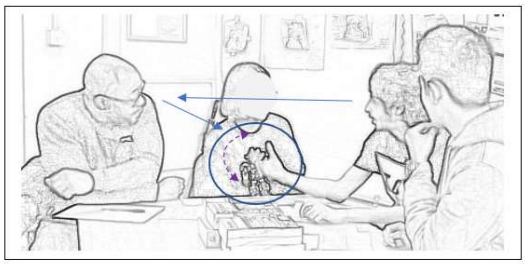
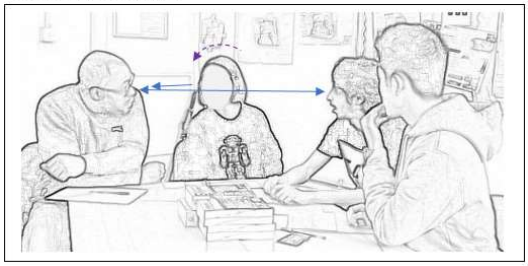


Fig. 3: JES shifts head position towards HAT while MAJ & HAT establish gaze.



Excerpt 10 begins with BOB pursuing with his turn-at-talk after having self-selected in overlap with HAT and gained primary-speakership. As BOB reaches a near completion of his TCU, he maintains a gaze direction towards MAJ and JES as he describes the importance of the classroom representative in resolving problems that arise within the school or a specific classroom. When BOB completes his articulation of `a different >CLASS<=` in line 72, reaching a possible TRP, JES immediately stretches out her left arm as she takes an audible inbreath to orient her co-participants' gaze towards her and claim primary-speakership despite HAT still not having obtained an opportunity to display a speech sample for assessment (see fig. 1) .

JES begins to construct her third turn-to-the-floor with `>bu:t<∞ [someti:]mes` in line 73 projecting that her incoming TCU will provide details different from those previously presented by her co-participant. When JES gains the floor, she demonstrates an ability to extend her turn-at-talk and maintain primary-speakership through incorporating various turn-holding features into her talk. In line 79, JES prosodically manipulates her talk, through speeding up the pace of her utterance just prior to reaching a possible TRP with `>some problem comes our way< (.)` in an attempt to minimize the possibility of a turn-transfer to other test-takers and to preserve herself with a right to an additional unit of talk without any interference from her co-participants.

After a successful attempt in maintaining the floor, JES pursues with her talk, producing can <talk> and uha (.) in line 79, where JES utilizes additional turn-holding features prior to her micropause. Through articulating the conjunction and , JES reveals her intention of producing further talk and maintain primary-speakership. After having articulated and JES follows-up with a pause filler uha just prior to her micropause, where JES continues to project her intention to retain the floor after the micropause. With a grammatically incomplete unit of talk, JES maintains a right to the floor and produces further talk to construct her TCU with make something and (.) in line 80. As in the previous TCU, JES incorporates the conjunction and just prior to her micropause to convey to her co-participants her intention of producing additional talk after her pause. With a syntactically incomplete utterance, JES ensures her retention of the floor after the micropause.

However, when JES succeeds in holding the floor after the pause in line 80, rather than pursuing with her turn via providing additional details about her example, she articulates a quick >and i< where she projects an intention to present an opinion, and possibly construct an expanded unit of talk. After having already held an extended turn-at-talk from lines 73 to 80, also referenced as letter (A1) in the transcript, MAJ orients to JES' utterance of >and i< as a further turn expansion and so immediately responds to JES with a fast and high-voiced acknowledgment token [>YEAH<] in line 81 to display that he acknowledges the content of her talk and is encouraging her to hasten the conclusion of her primary-speakership, also referenced as letter (B1) in the transcript. When MAJ's quick acknowledgment response [>YEAH<] overlaps with JES' articulation of [↑think] in line 80, an overtly expressed utterance demonstrating JES' intention to present her opinion, JES trails it with a pause filler prior to taking a micropause [↑think]=uha (.) to project her intention of proceeding with her display of opinion and maintain her right to the floor. Although JES resumes her primary-speakership with the vocalization of a slightly stretched hesitation marker um: in line 82 followed by a micropause, MAJ maintains his lips apart, as a display of his readiness to claim primary-speakership after JES. After the micropause in line 82, and with JES and MAJ orienting their gaze towards one another, JES progresses with her turn with another stretched hesitation marker in an attempt to hold the floor while taking time to formulate her incoming talk.

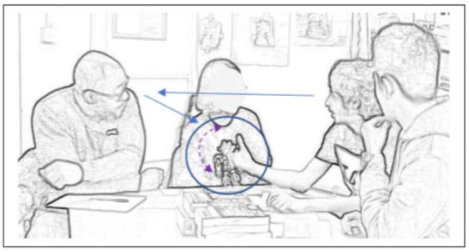
As JES produces her hesitation marker, MAJ begins producing minimal acknowledgment nods in line 83 to JES to encourage her to hasten the completion of her utterance. JES orients to MAJ's displays of recipiency as an attempt to halt her turn-at-talk so that he may pursue with the discussion and claim next-primary-speakership. To maintain her right to the floor and complete the construction of her TCU, JES speeds-up the pace of her utterance as she articulates `>wh[en everything]< >°is°<∆ [>in: class<]=` in line 82, also referenced as letter (A2) in the transcript. On the other hand, to hasten JES' turn completion and ensure a quicker turn-transfer, MAJ also pursues with his demonstrations of acknowledgment and understanding to JES by producing a quick and slightly stressed acknowledgment token `[>Yeah<]` in line 83, referenced as letter (B2) in the transcript, and overlapping it with JES' utterance of `>wh[en everything]` in line 82.

When JES constructs further talk in line 82, MAJ also persists and elevates his demonstrations of comprehension and agreement by responding to JES with a doubled affirmative response token in line 83 `[>YE:S YE:S<]` vocalizing them loudly, quickly and slightly stretched in an attempt to indicate to JES that her talk has been well received as well as projecting that she halt her pursue for further talk. The repetition of the affirmative response token may "function as a single response" (Farr, 2003, p. 74), confirming MAJ's agreement. However, doubling the affirmative response may also act to minimize the effect of MAJ's attempt to end JES' primary-speakership by exhibiting his affiliation towards her and the content of her talk, relieving through that any ambiguity JES may have on the clarity of the details she has provided. Despite MAJ's recurrent addressing of the acknowledgment tokens and their displays of MAJ's readiness to create a shift from the current action to a next to progress with the discussion and claim next-primary-speakership, JES persists with her turn-at-talk by quickly latching `=>sa[me cl◊a ]ss<=` in line 84, also referenced as letter (A3) in the transcript, repairing through that her pervious overlapped utterance of `[>in: class<]=` in line 82. Upon her articulation of `=>sa[me cl◊a ]ss<=` in line 84, MAJ produces another fast and high-voiced acknowledgment token `[>YEA◊H<]` in line 85, also referenced as letter (B3) in the transcript, overlapping it in mid-position with JES' repaired utterance `=>sa[me cl◊a ]ss<=` in line 84. As MAJ reaches near completion of his acknowledgment token `[>YEA◊H<]` he shifts his gaze orientation from JES to HAT, projecting that JES will reach a possible completion by the end of the word `cla]ss<=` in line 84,

demonstrating through that his first attempt of enabling HAT to the floor, also referenced as letter (C1) in the transcript. Alternatively, as JES quickly articulates the remainder of the word `cl◊a ]ss<=` in line 84 she maintains her gaze directed at MAJ.

Holding an orientation that MAJ intends to claim next-primary-speakership, JES with her sustained gaze orientation towards MAJ produces further talk in line 86, also referenced as letter (A4) in the transcript, via uttering `=>°and[∆uha]°<`, latching it with her previous utterance `=>sa[me cl◊a ]ss<=` in line 84. To preserve her right to the floor, JES quickly articulates the conjunction `and` followed by the pause filler `[◊uha]<` as an indication to MAJ that she has not completed her talk and is intending to pursue with primary-speakership to further expand her turn and provide additional information. Though, when MAJ hears JES' vocalization of `=>°and` , he too articulates a quick and high-voiced `>[∆AND]` in line 87 and accords it with an elevation of his right arm as he constructs a semi-open palm gesture with a thumb pointing towards JES and a continued gaze trajectory towards HAT (see fig. 2), in his second attempt of enabling HAT to the floor, also referenced as letter (C2) in the transcript .

Fig. 2: MAJ elevates arm & makes semi-open palm gesture to HAT

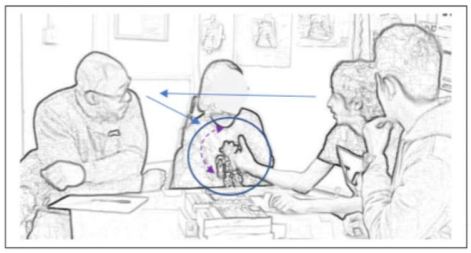


Not only does MAJ's quick and high-voiced vocalization of the `>[∆AND]` conjunction overlap with JES' pause filler, it also, along with his embodied display acts to halt JES from constructing further talk. As MAJ gains a right to the floor in line 87, he maintains his gaze orientation and hand gesture to HAT as he constructs his incoming TCU as a WH-question, the first-pair-part of an action sequence, `>[∆AND] WHAT DO YOU THINK Eha about<` . Formulating the TCU as a WH-question not only projects MAJ's intention to de-select himself from primary-speakership and mandate a turn-transfer to HAT, the explicitly addressed recipient. It also reveals MAJ's intention to seek detailed information from HAT, the addressee, creating

through that an opportunity for HAT to hold an extended second-pair part and display a speech sample for assessment prior to exam termination, referenced as letter (C2) in the transcript .

With JES persisting with her attempts to extend her turn-at-talk, MAJ adopts the role of an enabler to ensure a speech platform is provided to HAT, the only test-taker who has not gained an opportunity to discuss the topic and provide a speech sample during the group-oral-assessment. To ensure moving forward with the discussion and shift primary-speakership from JES to HAT, MAJ recurrently demonstrates his agreement with the content of JES' talk to project that there is clarity in her talk to encourage her to end her primary-speakership such as in line 83 with his articulation of [>Yeah<] and [>YE:S YE:S<] . However, upon realizing JES' intention to further expand her talk in her utterance of =>°and[∆uha]°< in line 86, MAJ quickly self-selects for primary-speakership not for the purpose of holding the floor to provide another speech sample for assessment, but to select HAT via an explicit gaze direction (see fig. 2) and an addressed question to provide HAT with an opportunity to gain next-primary-speakership.

Fig. 2: MAJ elevates arm & makes semi-open palm gesture to HAT

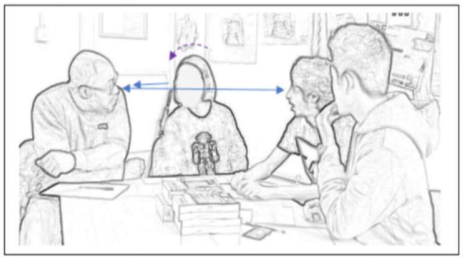


Having explicitly selected HAT via the employment of gaze and a semi-open hand gesture for the recipiency of the addressed term YOU in his question, MAJ pursues with the construction of his question in lines 88 and 89 to further ensure HAT's priority to the floor through requesting HAT's opinion on the #RE↑ACTION from=Uha:: (.) eha::: (0.2) ehe:: (.) this ehe: uha: eha:: >la∆dy< . As MAJ searches for a relevant term to complete the construction of his question in line 87, he utilizes his hand gesture, slightly shifting it sideways as he directs his thumb toward JES to project to HAT that the intended word under search relates to JES' #RE↑ACTION (see fig. 2). Though, to relieve any ambiguity regarding the intended addressee of his question and to ensure a turn-transfer to HAT, MAJ maintains a gaze trajectory towards HAT

despite his recurrent pointing at JES. Although MAJ's search for a suitable term disrupts the development of his question, and delays through that the progressivity of the current action, he nevertheless succeeds in ensuring HAT's right to the floor through preventing JES from claiming next-primary-speakership.

Despite orienting to MAJ's gaze direction towards HAT, JES immediately self-selects after MAJ's articulation of >la∆dy< in line 89. To gain MAJ's attention, JES produces a non-lexical token ∞HE::A-∞ in line 90 as she extends her left arm towards MAJ to orient his gaze towards her to claim primary-speakership, also referenced as letter (A5) in the transcript. However, after MAJ's slight gaze shift towards her and then immediately orienting back to HAT, JES cuts-off her talk ∞HE::A-∞ and shifts her head position towards HAT (see fig. 3). Upon redirecting her gaze towards HAT, JES addresses HAT with a weak acknowledging token °u∂hm°# exhibiting an orientation to HAT as the next-primary-speaker. After JES redirects her gaze to HAT, HAT slightly raises his head position and establishes gaze with MAJ (see fig. 3), producing through that a minimal acknowledgment nod to MAJ. HAT follows-up his embodied orientation with an immediate vocal uptake in line 91 UHA:: >o¢kay i ¥thin:k< (0.2)¥ , also referenced as letter (D) in the transcript. As HAT articulates the receipt token >o¢kay he gazes at his topic-card to display his readiness to shift from being a listener to a primary-speaker. The receipt token along with HAT's overt expression of his opinion i ¥thin:k< followed by a 0.2 second pause provide HAT with time to orient to his topic-card prior to constructing further talk. As HAT maintains a gaze trajectory to his topic-card, he further expands his talk through responding to MAJ' question with <she:'s: ri::ght> (.) in line 91, projecting through that his comprehension and orientation to MAJ's addressed question.

Fig. 3: JES shifts head position towards HAT while MAJ & HAT establish gaze.



Although MAJ's construction of a context-specific question is paramount in enabling HAT in gaining the floor prior to exam termination, nonetheless, HAT attempts to utilize gaining a right to the floor to articulate his opinion on a previously discussed sub-topic after having expressed his acknowledgment and affiliation with JES and the content of her talk via uttering `<she:'s: ri::ght> (.)` in line 91. After responding to MAJ's question and taking a micropause, HAT begins to reveal his intention to make a sub-topic shift through articulating `°but° (.) °i°=h:ave one POINT about [thiS]∆:: (.) abou:t >in cla:ss< or outside of cla:ss` in lines 92 and 94. Even though at this point in time HAT is marked as the primary-speaker, MAJ purses with his enabling attempt of ensuring HAT progresses with his articulation of his opinion via vocally acknowledging HAT's sub-topic shift with an overlapping acknowledgment token `[yeah]∆` in line 93 and then confirming his orientation to HAT as the current-primary-speaker via immediately leaning towards HAT, referenced as letter (E) in the transcript, to display his continued orientation to HAT as he further expands his turn-at-talk during the assessed discussion. For a visually highlighted analytic summary see Excerpt 10.1 which highlights the problematic turn-transfer in the excerpt, the main interactional work leading up to establishing the interactional role of the enabler as well as the enabled participant's orientation and uptake, and the enabler's persisting role in ensuring the enabled participant's establishment of primary-speakership.

Excerpt 10.1: Class Representative - "the reaction from this lady"

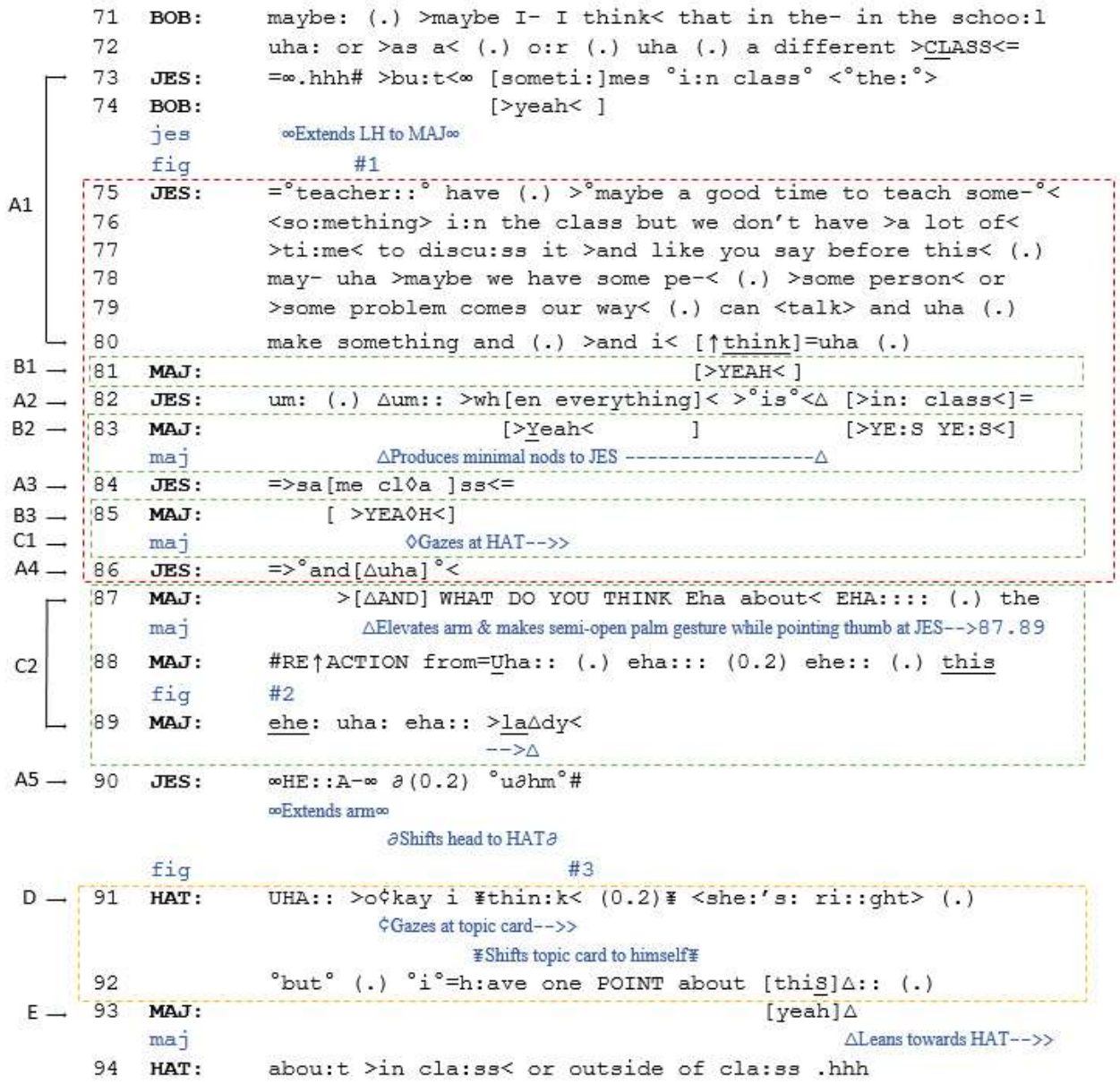


Fig. 1: JES extends her left hand towards MAJ.

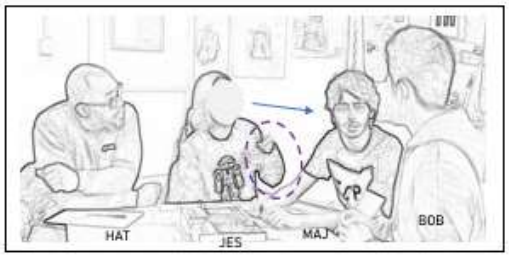


Fig. 2: MAJ elevates arm & makes semi-open palm gesture to HAT.

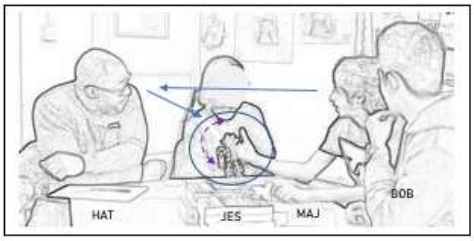
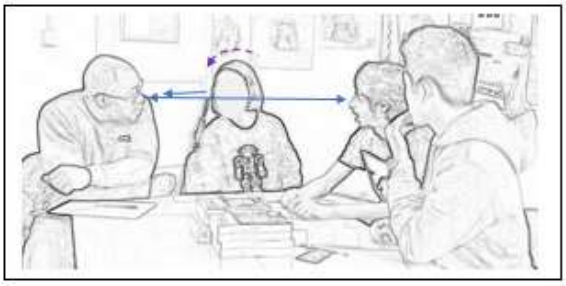


Fig. 3: JES shifts head position towards HAT while MAJ & HAT establish gaze.



◊ for gaze done by MAJ Δ for gestures done by MAJ	∂ for gaze done by JES ∞ for gestures done by JES
◦ for gaze done by HAT ¥ for gestures done by HAT	

7.2.3 *Non-Primary Speaker Facilitates a Speech-Platform via Gaze, Index-Pointing & "How about you"*

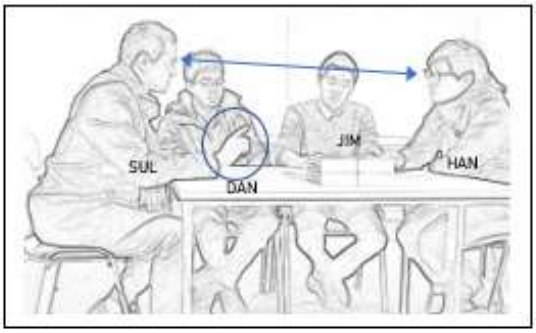
Setting the Scene:

Excerpt 11 demonstrates the interactional work of a *non-primary-speaker* in ensuring an equal speech platform is provided to a test-taker who has gained the least opportunities to talk during a group-oral-assessment. The test-takers in this excerpt are Sultan (SUL) from Saudi Arabia, Dan a Thai, and Jim and Hank (HAN) from China. The test-takers hold a level 'five' proficiency in English and they have been allocated four minutes to discuss the question 'What positive qualities or characteristics are important in a student class representative'. Excerpt 11 begins at 3 minutes and 17 seconds into the discussion, with 43 seconds remaining till exam termination. Excerpt 11 reveals how the *non-primary-speaker*, Sultan, adopts the role of an *enabler* via employing voice and embodiment to ensure a quick turn-transfer to Hank after an extended repair-initiation-sequence to provide him with an opportunity to gain the floor prior to exam termination to display his speech sample for assessment. Just prior to the excerpt, Dan attempts to provide examples in how student class representatives can assist fellow classmates.

Excerpt 11: Class Representative - "Unsuitable"
Participants: SULtan, DAN, JIM, and HANk

A	81	DAN:	a course >that< (.) >that< (.) >that=uha< (.) >that< (.)
	82		that he::? (0.4) (<impoficate>) >°yeah°<
	83	JIM:	°u:°m[:::]
	84	DAN:	[>(that unsuiter)<] (.) the: <°unsuita-ble°>
	85	JIM:	unsuta?
	86	DAN:	>UNSUITABLE<
	87	JIM:	unsui[table
B →	88	SUL:	[>°unsui◊table°<◊=
			◊Shifts head -◊ position to HAN & both establish gaze.
	89	JIM:	=OH YEAH ye[△#a:h]
C →	90	SUL:	[△#°yes°△] [>°what about°<] [you:] [>°yeah°<]
	91	JIM:	[°unsuitable°] [>about] [you:°<
	92	HAN:	[¥AND=UHA] [I-=
		sul	△Nods to HAN- & points at him△
		han	¥Shifts body forward-->92.93
		fig	#1
D →	93	HAN:	=<I THINK¥ in=IN THIS WO:RK have a ↑lo:t of powe:r>
			-->¥

Fig. 1: SUL nods while pointing his right index finger at HAN.



△ for gestures done by SUL ◊ for gaze done by SUL	¥ for gestures done by HAN ∂ for gaze done by HAN

Excerpt 11 commences with DAN attempting to explain the importance of the classroom representative and their role in providing their classmates with possible solutions when being allocated irrelevant courses. After DAN utters `a course >that< (.)` in line 81, he begins to display his trouble in finding a proper term to complete his utterance. After articulating `a course >that<` , DAN shifts his gaze away from JIM as he progresses with his hand gesturing to project to his co-participant his continued search for a relevant term. In spite of his trouble in finding an appropriate term, DAN succeeds via his embodied actions and his repetition of the word `>that<` to maintain his right to the floor. After a 0.4 second pause in line 82, and upon expecting to have found the relevant term, DAN redirects his gaze to JIM and articulates a grammatically incorrect word `(<impoficate>)` in line 82 and concurs it with an immediate minimal nod. DAN follows-up with a quickly articulated receipt token `>°yeah°<` in line 82 in an attempt to receive a confirmation of understanding from JIM. However, JIM displays a lack of understanding through gazing up and then placing his left hand to his chin as he begins voicing `°u:°m[:::` in line 83 which further reveals JIM's lack of comprehension and projects a need for an additional repair initiation.

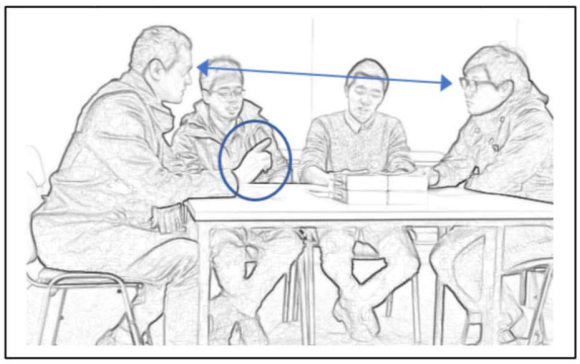
DAN immediately interprets JIM's vocal and embodied displays as a repair initiation and quickly produces a second repair attempt `[>(that unsuiter)<] (.)` in line 84, overlapping it with JIM's utterance at turn-terminal position. DAN's overlapping response not only preserves his right to the floor and provides him with a further opportunity to repair his talk. The quick repair initiation also projects DAN's orientation to the institutional goal of the discussion in that his talk is a reflection of his English proficiency and is accordingly being assessed as he speaks. As DAN reaches near completion of the incorrectly pronounced word `unsuiter` , SUL diverts his gaze away from his topic-card and gazes at DAN. After a micropause, while DAN and JIM continue to hold an orientation towards one another, DAN attempts to make a third repair intonation via gesturing again with his hand prior to articulating his utterance. This gains SUL's gaze direction and invites him to lean his torso towards DAN to reveal his involvement in the interaction. Although DAN's gaze trajectory is directed only towards JIM, SUL displays an orientation to DAN's forthcoming repair initiative.

In his third repair attempt, DAN articulates a slow and low-voiced `the: <°unsuita-ble°>` in line 84 to ensure JIM's understanding of the repaired word. Though, upon his articulation of the word, neither JIM nor SUL demonstrate their comprehension of the repaired utterance. On the contrary, in an attempt to co-construct a repair resolution, JIM articulates `unsuta?` in line 85, projecting his lack of hearing or understanding of DAN's initiated repair. JIM's other-initiated repair tacitly selects DAN to the floor and provides him with a further opportunity to resolve the trouble-source (Hayashi, 2013). As DAN responds to JIM in line 86, he articulates his repaired utterance quickly and in a high voice `>UNSUITABLE<` while coinciding it with a hand gesture. When DAN completes his utterance, he gives JIM an acknowledgment nod in an attempt to initiate a response from JIM that displays understanding. JIM orients to the initiation as such and immediately projects his understanding with a reciprocal nod to DAN and a repeat of the repaired utterance `unsui[table` in line 87. When JIM demonstrates his understanding and acknowledgment of the repaired term, SUL also follows suit and exhibits his attentiveness as a co-participant in the discussion as well as his understanding of the initiated term through quickly repeating the repaired utterance in a low voice, `[>°unsui◊table°<◊=` in line 88 overlapping it at turn-terminal position with JIM's repeat. Although DAN does not orient to SUL upon his articulation of the word, SUL's overlapping repeat over JIM's utterance is not treated as problematic by either of his co-participants, as it may possibly be favorable to respond chorally as both JIM and SUL attempt to project a positive assessment towards DAN's initiated repair.

Nonetheless, when SUL articulates the first two syllables of the repaired term `[>°unsui◊table°<◊=` in line 88 he shifts his head position away from DAN and JIM after their gaze diversion from one another and directs his gaze towards HAN who has not verbally portrayed any involvement in the long sequence of the repair initiation action, which progressed from lines 81 to 87, also referenced as letter (A) in the transcript, in an attempt to provide HAN with an opportunity of gaining primary-speakership after a delayed tun-transfer involving an extended repair sequence. As SUL shifts his gaze direction to HAN, he projects an orientation that the repair sequence has been completed and initiates to progress to another action. However, as SUL completes his articulation of the repaired term `[>°unsui◊table°<◊=` , also referenced as letter (B) in the transcript, JIM produces a latching `=OH YEAH ye[∆#a:h ]` in line 89, displaying a change in his state of knowledge from a lack of knowledge to an awareness. He further confirms his acknowledgment and understanding of the term through vocalizing a doubled acknowledgment

token YEAH ye[∆#a:h] in concurrence with two minimal acknowledgment nods. To ensure ending the ongoing extended repair initiation sequence, and create a quicker turn-transfer to HAN, the test-taker with the least opportunities to the floor prior to exam termination, SUL addresses HAN in line 90 with an affirmative response token [∆#°yes°∆] overlapping it with JIM's second acknowledgment token ye[∆#a:h] in line 89 at turn-terminal position. Furthermore, SUL articulates his affirmative response token in line 90 in accordance with an acknowledgment nod and an index-finger pointing gesture to HAN to confirm a primary-speaker-change-shift from DAN to HAN (see fig. 1), also referenced as letter (C) in the transcript.

Fig. 1: SUL nods while pointing his right index finger at HAN.



To further ensure that HAN gains next-primary-speakership, SUL with a continued gaze trajectory towards HAN addresses him in line 90 with a question, the first-pair-part of an action sequence [>°what about°<] [you:]. As SUL articulates [>°what about°<] to make a quick turn-transfer to HAN and end the initiated-repair-sequence, JIM persists with his orientation to the repair-initiation via re-articulating the repaired trouble-source [°unsuitable°], possibly not only to confirm understanding, but to utilize the initiated repair sequence as an opportunity to actively learn the term. Despite the overlap of both SUL's question and JIM's repeated utterance, SUL's embodied orientation to HAN through his gaze direction, body shifting forward and pointing gesture towards HAN (see fig. 1) succeed in gaining HAN's attention even prior to SUL's vocalization of the pronoun [you:].

Although the intended recipient for the pronoun [you:] may be problematic in multi-party interaction, SUL's employment of a concurred embodiment along with his addressed

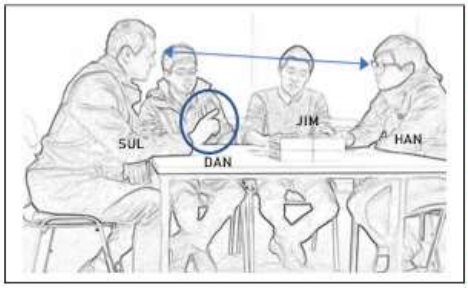
question relieves any ambiguity the co-participants may have in who is the intended recipient. In fact, prior to SUL completely articulating his question, HAN immediately orients as an incipient speaker via shifting his body posture forward as he begins to respond to SUL with an overlapping [¥AND=UHA] in line 92. Moreover, SUL's addressed question as well as HAN's initiated body reconfiguration gain the other co-participants' attention encouraging them to orient to HAN as the next-primary-speaker. After HAN articulates the conjunction [¥AND followed by the pause filler =UHA] , SUL reveals his continued orientation to HAN via vocalizing a quick and low-voiced acknowledgment token [>°yeah°<] in line 90, encouraging HAN to continue holding the floor and construct further talk. To progress with his turn-at-talk, HAN begins his utterance in line 93 by overtly displaying his opinion followed by his point of view on the topic for discussion =<I THINK¥ in=IN THIS WO:RK , also referenced as letter (D) in the transcript. HAN's response in line 93 projects his orientation to SUL's addressed question in line 90 as well as SUL's role in enabling HAN in gaining primary-speakership. Furthermore, not only does SUL's WH-question reveal SUL's intention to seek detailed information related to the topic under discussion, it also provides HAN with an opportunity to hold an extended second-pair-part to display a speech sample for assessment prior to exam termination.

SUL adopts a pivotal role in providing HAN, the test-taker with the least opportunity to speak, with a platform to gain next-primary-speakership to provide a speech sample for assessment. With an extended repair-sequence and a few seconds remaining until exam termination, SUL initiates a quick turn-transfer to HAN immediately after DAN's repair-initiation completion. To ensure a shift in action, SUL confirms his understanding of the repaired term via acknowledging it with a repetition in line 88. As JIM reaches a near completion of his displayed understanding to DAN's repair with =OH YEAH ye[∆#a:h] in line 89, SUL self-selects at turn-terminal position to gain a right to the floor and to hasten an end to the ongoing action. Upon self-selecting, SUL portrays that the purpose is not to gain primary-speakership, but rather, his immediate de-selection portrays that his intention is to provide HAN, the test-taker with the least turns to the floor with a platform to present his speech sample for assessment prior to exam termination. Excerpt 11.1 presents a visually highlighted analytic summary of the test-takers' interaction during an extended repair sequence as well as a co-participant's attempt to enable a successful turn-transfer to a passive participant to ensure equal opportunities to the floor are provided to every test-taker prior to exam termination.

Excerpt 11.1: Class Representative - "Unsuitable"

```
A  81  DAN:   a course >that< (.) >that< (.) >that=uha< (.) >that< (.)
   82         that he::? (0.4) (<impoficate>) >°yeah°<
   83  JIM:   °u:°m[:::                ]
   84  DAN:         [>(that unsuiter)<] (.) the: <°unsuita-ble°>
   85  JIM:   unsuta?
   86  DAN:   >UNSUITABLE<
   87  JIM:   unsui[table
B  88  SUL:         [>°unsui◊table°<◊=
                          ◊Shifts head -◊
                          position to HAN & both establish gaze.
   89  JIM:   =OH YEAH ye[∆#a:h    ]
C  90  SUL:              [∆#°yes°∆] [>°what about°<] [you:     ] [>°yeah°<]
   91  JIM:                        [°unsuitable°  ] [>about   ] [you:°<
   92  HAN:                                         [¥AND=UHA] [I-=
       sul                ∆Nods to HAN-
                          & points at him∆
       han                                                    ¥Shifts body forward-->92.93
       fig                #1
D  93  HAN:   =<I THINK¥ in=IN THIS WO:RK have a ↑lo:t of powe:r>
                    -->¥
```

Fig. 1: SUL nods while pointing his right index finger at HAN.



∆ for gestures done by SUL ◊ for gaze done by SUL	¥ for gestures done by HAN ∂ for gaze done by HAN

7.3 Summary

The analysis of chapter 7 reveals that in some occasions test-takers involved in group-oral-assessments struggle in gaining equal opportunities to the floor as a result of other test-takers holding extended turns-at-talk, or co-participants conducting extended repair sequences. The analysis demonstrates that when co-participants with the least opportunities to the floor adopt a passive listeners' role via refraining from displaying incipiency to claim next-primary-speakership, fellow *non-primary-speakers* may on their part adopt the role of an *enabler* to facilitate a turn-transfer to the passive participant to ensure equal opportunities to the floor to every group member prior to exam termination. The *enabler* may employ voice and embodiment to ensure the success of the turn-transfer attempt.

Ensuring a successful turn-transfer from the primary-speaker to the enabled co-participant is achieved after the enabler addresses the primary-speaker with confirming and agreeing remarks on the content of their talk to display that their talk has been well received near a possible TRP. The enabler then de-selects him/herself from primary-speakership through explicitly selecting the passive participant via gaze and gesture in congruent with an addressed WH-question not only to guarantee a turn-transfer to the passive participant prior to exam termination, but also to ensure the maintenance of an extended turn-at-talk.

Analysis Chapters Epilogue

To summarize, the analysis of chapters five, six and seven reveal that lower-proficiency level L2 test-takers involved in group oral assessments may face difficulties in conducting successful turn-transfers from one test-taker to another as well as ensuring equal opportunities to the floor to all test-takers prior to exam termination. However, to ensure the success of the turn-transfers in adequate time, a *non-primary-speaker* may adopt the role of an *enabler* to facilitate the turn-allocations amongst the members in three ways: (1) via facilitating an other-selection, (2) enabling a self-selector to the floor and (3) facilitating a speech-platform to passive test-takers during the group-oral-assessments. Such facilitating actions by the *enabler* change the sequential organization of the turn-allocation practices to select a next-primary-speaker as proposed by Sacks *et al*. (1974). The variant turn-allocation practices that arise from the *enabler's* mediating actions and the immediate uptake by the enabled participants reveal the test-takers' orientation to the institutional goals of the discussions, in which test-takers are to display successful next-speaker selections and ensure a platform is provided to every test-taker to present a speech sample for assessment. It is also worth noting that the interactional role of an *enabler* may become adopted by any participant orienting to the interactional aspirations of the assessed discussion and is attempting to ensure the successful progression of the task even if that entails their facilitation of a delayed turn-transfer to ensure all test-takers gain equal opportunities to the floor and provide a speech sample for assessment prior to exam termination. These analytic observations will be unpacked in further detail in comparison with the literature review in the discussion chapter.

Chapter 8: Discussion

8.1 Summary

The current study has adopted a multimodal CA methodology to investigate the interactional practices that international L2 test-takers from diverse linguistic, cultural and educational backgrounds employ to collaboratively facilitate their next-speaker-selections during an L2 group-oral-assessment. The study draws on calls within the SLA field to expand the parameters of examining face-to-face L2 social interaction research in educational-based settings with a focus on exhibiting close considerations to the embodied resources L2 co-participants utilize to manage their next-speaker-selections (Carroll, 2004; Firth and Wagner, 1997; Olsher, 2004). The study was based on a data set of 19 video-recorded group-oral-assessments, each lasting 3 to 4 minutes and involving 3 to 4 international L2 learners at a total of one-hour and five-minutes in a UK university-affiliated language institute that offers academic support to L2 international students. To summarize, the micro-analytic examination has revealed that when speaker-transitions become interactionally problematic for the L2 test-takers, one participant will enact the interactional identity of an '*enabler*' to facilitate and assist next-speaker-selections. The analysis demonstrates that an enabler's work is required (i) when one test-taker struggles to select another speaker, (ii) when a test-taker struggles to select him/herself, and (iii) to select a thus-far quiet student who does not display recipiency.

8.2 Introduction to Discussion

The current study has adopted a multimodal CA methodology to investigate the interactional practices that L2 test-takers employ to collaboratively facilitate their next-speaker-selections during an L2 group-oral-assessment, and work to enable the successful distribution of extended turns of talk across participants. As these enabling actions are achieved through the interplay of vocal and embodied actions, the findings create an important bridge between research on L2 oral assessments and multimodality, highlighting the ways participants rely upon gaze, gesture, body reconfigurations and talk to facilitate next-speaker-selections to a next-primary-speaker (e.g. Greer and Potter, 2008; Mondada, 2014; 2016; Nakatsuhara, 2009; Streeck, Goodwin and LeBaron, 2011).

Alternatively, in spite of the increased employment of group-oral-assessments in English-speaking university-affiliated language institutes, there is limited research investigating the interactional practices emerging from the interaction between international L2 learners during such an assessment, despite it being an interaction-based assessment. Via adopting a social interaction-based research, the findings of this study have not only uncovered the interactional practices of one participant adopting the role of an '*enabler*' to facilitate a successful next-speaker-selection to a next-primary-speaker, but the analytic findings have also raised four salient themes requiring further discussion. The themes are: (i) L2 learners' interactional successes in facilitating next-speaker-selections in institutional-based social interactions, examined in section 8.2.1; (ii) multimodality as a resource for facilitating next-speaker-selections, examined in section 8.2.2; (iii) expanding the group-oral-assessment research context, examined in section 8.2.3, and (iv) providing a comparison between the interactional identity of an '*enable*r' and other adopted third-party identities attempting to facilitate next-speaker-transitions in section 8.2.4. After a discussion of the significance of the current study in expanding understanding of international English L2 learners' interactional practices within oral assessment contexts, the subsequent section presents an acknowledgment of the study's limitations in section 8.3. This is followed by an acknowledgment of the study's implications and contributions to varied bodies of research in section 8.4, while specifically providing details on the theoretical contributions of the study in section 8.4.1 and the methodological contributions of the study in section 8.4.2. Practical contributions are then presented in section 8.4.3, with a focus on contributions to the field of testing in section 8.4.3.1, while section 8.4.3.2 focuses on contributions to teaching and learning. This is followed by a presentation of future research directions in section 8.5 and closing with final remarks in section 8.6.

8.2.1 *L2 Learners' Interactional Successes in Facilitating Next-Speaker-Selections*

As the current study employed Conversation Analysis as its methodological tool to analyze L2 test-takers' talk-in-interaction during an assessed group oral discussion in a UK university-affiliated language institute for international students, the study has taken a step towards expanding the parameters of SLA research by redressing the methodological imbalances within the SLA field as argued by Firth and Wagner (1997). The purpose of having implemented CA as a framework was to investigate the L2 learners use of the English language during their assessed social

interaction rather than accommodating SLA's most implemented research perspective, that of examining the learners' cognitive and mentalistic orientations (Firth and Wagner, 1997). Through having adopted the view that L2 test-takers are 'language users', the study not only redresses the methodological imbalance within SLA's educational-based research, it also assists in examining interaction as well as presenting the findings from an 'emic' viewpoint, being not only from the participants' perspectives, but also from the viewpoint of the social actions being performed within their sequential environment (Seedhouse, 2005). In other words, the detailed sequential analysis of the test-takers' interaction uncovers how the test-takers' talk and embodied behavior unfold from within their social and institutional system (Seedhouse, 2005). Meaning that, an educational practitioner or a researcher via their employment of the CA methodology are capable of examining the ways in which the test-takers' linguistic and interactional competences are constructed during the assessment (Richards, 2005).

Through having utilized a CA approach, previous oral assessment studies were able to identify various interactional phenomena such as Seedhouse (2012) and Seedhouse and Nakatsuhara's (2018) study in which they demonstrated the turn-taking organizational practices of the IELTS speaking test, a form of OPI tests, revealing how the turn-allocations unfolded between the examiner, being the language expert and the test-taker, the L2 user during the oral assessment. Other researchers had utilized the CA methodology to examine the paired and group-oral-assessments and compared between them, as well as examining OPI tests to investigate how these forms of oral assessment are interactionally similar or different from mundane conversation (Fulcher, 2003; Sandlund *et al*., 2016; Young and He, 1998). Studies exploring the interactional phenomena in paired and group oral tests revealed that these tests generally provided more naturally occurring conversational opportunities for the participants (Ducasse and Brown, 2009; Fulcher, 2003; Okada, 2010; Sandlund *et al*., 2016). Analysis had also demonstrated that some test-takers, mainly those holding a higher-proficiency-level displayed a higher ability to collaborate with their co-participants to co-construct a topic and manage skillful turn-taking practices (Galaczi, 2014; Nakatsuhara, 2009; 2011). Nevertheless, analysis had also pointed that not all test-takers within a group-oral-assessment may take the opportunity to initiate a turn or claim speakership during the assessment, mainly those attributed to having lower-proficiency-levels, reducing these test-takers' opportunities to display a speech sample for assessment as well as indicating their inability to accomplish the goal-oriented task (Greer and Potter, 2008; Nakatsuhara, 2009; 2011).

Despite the important analytic findings attained from the previously reviewed studies, the current study contributes to this line of research via adopting a detailed turn-by-turn sequential analysis to investigate the interactional phenomena within group-oral-assessed-discussions. The 'emic' approach to the analysis has uncovered that test-takers conducting group-oral-assessments, including those holding lower-proficiency-levels were capable of self-organizing successful next-speaker-selections including when speaker-transitions became interactionally problematic or 'tricky' for the L2 test-takers. The analysis revealed that although lower-proficiency L2 test-takers encountered 'tricky' or problematic turn-transfers during their assessed group discussions, possibly due to having a reduced ability to successfully distribute their orientations between their assessment documents and co-participants, or having a reduced ability to claim the floor for next-primary-speakership or due to the presence of competitive voices within their oral assessment groups, other test-takers within their groups attributed to holding similar low-proficiency levels, such as a level 'four', estimated at an IELTS 4.5-5.0 or an A2.2/B1.1 CEFR level or a level 'five', estimated at an IELTS 5.0-5.5 or a B1.2/B2.1 CEFR level, displayed an interactional ability in assisting their co-participants, via successfully facilitating those problematic next-speaker-selections from one co-participant to another. The *non-primary-speaking* test-taker adopting the interactional role of an *enabler* revealed an ability to utilize various interactional resources that not only assisted in achieving a successful turn-transfer from one co-participant to another, but also unveiled a sophisticated level of interactional competence which contributed to emerging the interactional role of the *enabler*.

Adopting Galaczi and Taylor's (2018) definition of interactional competence (IC), that an L2 test-taker may demonstrate an interactional ability as a speaker or a listener via performing certain aspects of IC at the microlevel of the interaction, such as "*topic management*, *turn management*, *interactive listening*, *breakdown repair* and *non-verbal or visual behaviours*" (Galaczi and Taylor, 2018, p.226) assisted in revealing the IC aspects an enabler may adopt to ensure all co-participants gain an opportunity to display a speech sample for assessment prior to exam termination. A detailed turn-by-turn sequential analysis disclosed that achieving a successful facilitation of a next-primary-speaker by a *non-primary-speaking* test-taker adopting the interactional role of an *enabler* required their display of various IC aspects. To gain an encompassing viewpoint of the enabler's level of interactional competence, it is important to deconstruct each of the IC interactional skills and highlight those microfeatures the enabler was

able to achieve during the facilitation attempt of the problematic turn-transfers. Galaczi and Taylor (2018) list several microfeatures under each IC aspect which Galaczi and Taylor argue can reflect a test-taker's interactional competence. The IC aspect of *topic management* incorporates the microfeatures of: closings, shifting, extending and initiation of topics, *turn management* incorporates: maintaining, ending, starting and pausing, latching or interrupting, *interactive listening* incorporates: backchanneling, continuers and comprehension check, *breakdown repair* incorporates: joint utterance creation, recasts, and self- or other-repair, and *non-verbal or visual behavior* incorporates: eye contact, facial expression, laughter and posture.

As the L2 test-takers in this study undertook a tightly time-restricted group-oral-assessment, the analysis demonstrated that there was a frequent invoking of an 'enabler' identity in nearly half of the participating groups, mainly emerging from within groups holding a low-proficiency-level, a level 'four' or 'five' out of 'eight' on the proficiency spectrum. The interactional identity of the enabler arose after speaker-transitions became interactionally problematic for the low-proficiency L2 test-takers during the group-oral-assessment-discussions. Upon examining the excerpts, it was revealed that the interactional identity of the enabler appeared after a non-primary-speaking test-taker oriented to the presence of a turn-transfer problem amongst the test-takers and then attempted to facilitate a next-speaker-selection to a co-participant. The enabler's orientation to the interactional problem and facilitation attempt of next-primary-speakership to other co-participants highlights that test-takers adopting the enabler role were not only orienting towards themselves gaining speakership rights, but rather, they were also displaying a concern for all test-takers within their groups to gain a 'fair' or 'equal' speakership right to the floor. Although the enabler's facilitation attempt may be attributed to the fact that results attained from this end-of-term assessment would determine whether these international learners progress to their university degrees. Alternatively, it also exhibits the enabler's interactional ability in orienting to the unfolding of the discussion in real-time and closely monitoring the ongoing interaction to be capable of successfully assisting (i) a test-taker struggling to select another speaker, (ii) a test-taker struggling to select him/herself for primary-speakership, and (iii) to select a thus-far quiet co-participant who had not displayed recipiency to gain the floor as a next-primary-speaker.

Two examples demonstrating an enabler's interactional work to create a successful speakership-transition from a talkative current-speaker to another who has thus-far not been able to gain primary-speakership during the assessed discussion were demonstrated in Excerpts 9 and 10 from Chapter 7. In both excerpts, the involved test-takers held a level 'four' proficiency-level, the lowest level on the proficiency spectrum. In addition, the thus-far quiet test-takers in Excerpts 9 and 10 had in a previous sequence attempted to claim next-primary-speakership but failed to do so with other test-takers competing for the floor. To provide the quiet test-taker with an opportunity to gain next-primary-speakership, one test-taker adopted the interactional identity of an 'enabler' and skillfully self-selected at a possible TRP to facilitate the speaker-transition to the quiet test-taker. The turn-transfer was made via the enabler addressing the current-speaker with an agreement or confirmation token to display an alignment with the current-speaker's talk after a speaker transition, without extending their stance. With the enabler acting upon their facilitation attempt around a TRP via first producing an acknowledgment token after a speaker transition revealed that the enabler was not only orienting towards the current-speaker's talk, but was also actively engaging with the speaker via responding with a form of backchanneling that displayed an understanding of the current-speaker's talk, and demonstrated through that an interactional capability in conducting interactive listening, an aspect of IC.

Alternatively, producing a response around a TRP also revealed the enabler's interactional ability in managing turn-taking via displaying an understanding of when speakership rights may be paused or stopped for a current-speaker, gained as the next-speaker or for a next-speaker, to maintain the active engagement of all test-takers within the discussion. The enabler's response around a TRP also uncovered that turn management may be performed not only by a primary-speaker, but also by a listener engaging in interactive listening. It is also worth noting that with the enabler managing turn-taking around a TRP, the enabler reduced creating a disaffiliative turn-taking action that may be negatively viewed by co-participants or the examiners, while simultaneously revealing an interactional competence in producing the turn management aspect. This also discloses that engaging in interactive listening with a co-participant requires the ability to perform successful turn-taking tactics to produce the appropriate response at the appropriate time. In other words, this confirms that the IC skills of turn management and interactive listening are inter-related and require the employment of both aspects to produce a next action successfully.

On the other hand, as the enabler's attempt was to facilitate a speaker-selection to a thus-far quiet test-taker, rather than progressing with an extended-turn-to-the-floor on the topic under discussion, the enabler in Excerpts 9 and 10 immediately deselected him/her self from primary-speakership to the quiet test-taker with an addressed question in concurrence with an embodied orientation and hand gesture to establish the quiet test-taker as the next-primary-speaker. Such a speaker-transition proved successful in that it not only provided a speakership right to the quiet test-taker who gained the floor through their immediate uptake, but it also successfully ended the extended turn of the previous current-speaker and then prevented the previous current-speaker, or any other test-taker from claiming primary-speakership. This interactional work by the enabler exhibits an interactional competence in performing various IC aspects, including a further ability to manage turn-taking between the test-takers, via completely ending the current-speaker from progressing with additional talk after having had an extended-turn, followed by their starting of a turn-to-the-floor, then shifting the speakership right to the addressed recipient and maintaining the enabled participant's right as the next-primary-speaker. This maintenance to the floor was established through the interplay of turn-management, the enabler's non-verbal behavior and topic management skills. Upon addressing the quiet test-taker, the enabler reveled an ability to utilize varied embodied resources, such as eye contact, posture and hand gesture, which were all oriented towards the addressed recipient. The combination of these embodied resources not only acted to ensure a turn-transfer was made to the addressed recipient, but they also emphasize the presence of an overlap between conducting turn-taking management and non-verbal behavior. This overlapping interactional work by the enabler not only assisted the enabler in performing the turn management successfully, it also exhibited the enabler's ability to effectively incorporate between the IC aspects of turn management and non-verbal behavior. Alternatively, with the enabler producing a context-sensitive question, via asking the addressed participant for their view on the topic under discussion, the enabler sheds light on their ability to perform topic management, through requesting the selected next-speaker to extend the topic under discussion with an additional viewpoint. Such interactional work not only presents the enabler's ability to manage turn-taking and topic management, it also uncovers that topic management may be achieved via conducting turn management. Meaning, the IC aspect of topic management is not always achieved exclusively on its own or only through a current-speaker. Contrarily, it may be inter-related and overlapping with other IC skills, such as turn management and conducted through the facilitation of an active listener, revealing the complex "but dynamic relationships between the various elements of interest" (Galaczi and Taylor, 2018, p. 226).

As achieving a successful turn-transfer to a thus-far quiet test-taker required a non-primary-speaking test-taker to adopt the interactional role of an enabler via performing complex and multimodal interactional work to assist a co-participant in gaining next-primary-speakership. The enabler not only revealed a sophisticated level of interactional competence in performing various interactional skills, but also demonstrated an orientation towards achieving the broader institutional goal of group-oral-assessments, which is to enable all test-takers of producing a speech sample for assessment prior to exam termination.

Since the successful management of turns is critical for the participants engaging within group-oral-assessments, having a non-primary-speaking test-taker engage in interactional work that ensures all co-participants gain speakership rights displays the act of 'good citizenship'. In other words, the complex and multimodal interactional work of a non-primary-speaker adopting the interactional identity of an enabler may be oriented to and assessed as an IC aspect, revealing the act of 'Good Citizenship'. Such interactional competence is not confined to the enabler's work addressed in Excerpts 9 and 10. Rather, the detailed turn-by-turn sequential analysis of the excerpts unveiled the enabler's ability to orient to different problematic turn-transfers that may arise within L2 group-oral-assessments, such as (i) when one test-taker struggles to select another speaker, (ii) when a test-taker struggles to select him/herself for primary-speakership, and (iii) a thus-far quiet student who does not display recipiency to gain speakership. Alternatively, the enabler also uncovered an interactional ability to employ a combination of IC aspects to support co-participants in gaining next-primary-speakership. The successful utilization of varied IC skills, such as active listening, turn management, non-verbal behavior or topic management by a non-primary-speaker for the purpose of facilitating a next-speaker-selection to another non-primary-speaker reveals an act of 'Good Citizenship', whereby the interactional identity of an enabler is emerged to support co-participants in gaining speakership rights rather than being utilized to seize the moment and claim him/herself as a primary-speaker. Such a finding supports Firth and Wagner's (1997) claim that language-learners even when holding low-proficiency-levels can be competent interactional participants and that they should not be stigmatized as being incompetent learners or "interactional dopes" (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 58).

8.2.1.1 Rating the Enabler's Interactional Display of 'Good Citizenship'

With low-proficiency test-takers unveiling an interactional ability to perform complex multimodal IC work that assists other test-takers in gaining primary-speakership during group-oral-assessments, it becomes important to create rating descriptors that acknowledge the enabler's display of 'Good Citizenship' and credit the resources utilized in facilitating a successful next-speaker-selection to other test-takers. As the interactional identity of an enabler reveals the act of displaying good citizenship, uncovering through that the interactional work of a non-primary-speaker who supports co-participants struggling to (i) select another speaker, (ii) select him/herself for primary-speakership, and (iii) a thus-far quiet student who does not display recipiency to gain speakership. This exhibits that although a non-primary-speaker's act of facilitating speakership rights to co-participants may be viewed positively by examiners, as observed between paired test-takers (Nakatsuhara *et al*., 2018) or co-participants, it is not a mandatory act in groups of 3 or 4 test-takers for a non-primary-speaker to assist another non-primary-speaker in gaining primary-speakership. As such, adopting the interactional identity of an enabler may attribute the non-primary-speaker in gaining additional marks, though the lack of employment should not be adhered to the loss of marks. Table 8.1 presents possible rating descriptors for an enabler's interactional work to display 'Good Citizenship', which has been adapted from Nakatsuhara *et al*.'s (2018) IC checklist for oral paired tests.

Table 8.1 Rating Descriptors for Enabler's Interactional Work Displaying 'Good Citizenship'

Participant adopted interactional identity of an enabler via:	Employed Interactional Tactics
1. ***Identifying and orienting to a turn-transfer problem***	**a.** Orienting to the current-speaker via gaze, body posture.
	b. Orienting to other group members' embodied actions or talk via eye gaze and body posture.
	c. Identifying and orienting towards the co-participant who is in need of gaining next-primary-speakership via gaze or body posture.
2. ***Selecting the appropriate time to engage***	**d.** Language ability & active listening allow participant to identify when the current-speaker has completed their idea or turn-at-talk.
	e. Selecting the appropriate time to engage via using embodiment such as eye gaze, posture, or speech.
	f. Selecting the appropriate time to engage without interrupting the current-speaker's talk.
3. ***Assisting in creating a turn-transfer to a co-participant***	**g.** Employing language at the appropriate time to gain current-speaker's attention by displaying engagement, using responses (e.g. 'yeah', 'right', 'yes', 'I agree with you') to end current-speaker's talk.
	h. Creating a smooth shift between addressing the current-speaker and orienting to the enabled co-participant to facilitate a turn-transfer without long pauses.
	i. Utilizing embodiment such as eye gaze, gesture and body posture to address the enabled co-participant.
	j. Employing language to address the enabled co-participant (e.g. a question or phrase) to select/ facilitate a turn-transfer to the enabled co-participant.
	k. Using eye gaze, nodding and body posture to ensure enabled co-participant pursues as a primary-speaker.
	l. Utilizing language (e.g. backchanneling) to ensure enabled co-participant maintains and progresses with their turn-at-talk.

The above suggested rating descriptor examining the enabler's interactional work may be utilized by trained examiners during real-time assessments to detect both verbal and embodied acts of facilitation conducted by a non-primary-speaker to assist a non-primary-speaker. Although embodied facilitations may be subtle, Galaczi (2014) and Nakatsuhara *et al*. (2018) argued that examiners of paired tests revealed that they found test-taker's embodied actions to be salient, even being rated in Nakatsuhara *et al*.'s (2018) study. Thus, embodied actions of the enabler may be oriented to by the examiners with proper training and assessed within the suggested rating descriptor.

Alternatively, demonstrating a non-primary-speaker's interactional competence in adopting the interactional identity of an enabler to facilitate a next-speaker-selection to another non-primary-speaker for the purpose of assisting them in gaining primary-speakership not only reveals an act of displaying 'Good Citizenship', but it also pursues with Firth and Wagner's (1997) argument for the need to examine language-learners' successes rather than mainly focus on their limitations or incompetencies. Thus, this study contributes to expanding SLA's research by revealing the L2 learners' interactional successes with a focus on revealing their ability to locally facilitate successful turn-transfers amongst themselves during a goal-oriented group-oral-assessment even when holding low-proficiency-levels. The relevance of identifying the test-takers' interactional ability and success in accordance with the institutionality of group-oral-assessments is because in mundane or non-institutional conversations there is generally no concern relating to the co-participants gaining 'equal' or 'fair' speakership rights. Contrarily, as group-oral-assessments have been specifically designed to provide the L2 test-takers with the opportunity to display their language proficiency and elicit their interaction within the group (Nakatsuhara, 2009; Simpson, 2006), it becomes vital that test-takers display an ability to create opportunities for other group members to gain speakership rights. With this study uncovering how through the orientation of at least one test-taker to the broader institutional goal of having all test-takers within a group gain speakership rights, the L2 test-takers reveal that through the invoking of an enabler they are able to conduct this institutional form of interaction successfully.

It is also relevant to note that upon examining the current speaking assessment criteria for the different proficiency levels (see Appendix H, also includes level indicators on the assessment scale), there seems to be a presentation of some rater descriptors that relate to the interactional actions of an enabler (e.g. Manages all initiation & turn-taking naturally & extremely skillfully; Does not dominate the discussion), though these descriptors have been presented as an interactional ability of speakers holding a level 8 on the proficiency spectrum, equivalent to an 8 on IELTS. Furthermore, these descriptors do not refer if the actions presented in the assessment may be performed by a non-primary-speaker. As such, the addition of a rating descriptor that appreciates the enabler's interactional work in exhibiting 'Good Citizenship', as Table 8.1 has presented, would provide a more comprehensive assessment of the assessed group-oral-discussions. Moreover, the inclusion of such interactional competence into the assessment criteria through the utilization of talk or embodiment despite how subtle the enabler's role may seem, plays a significant part in facilitating and managing problematic next-speaker-selections during the oral assessment. With group-oral-assessments being an institutional form of interaction, and the role of an enabler emerging as a result of an institutional practice, this emphasizes the importance of the interactional role of an enabler as it needs to be institutionally recognized by including it within the assessment criteria. The next section will continue to investigate the interactional role of the enabler though via focusing on the interplay of talk and embodiment in managing successful next-speaker-selections.

8.2.2 *Multimodality: The Enablers' Resource for Facilitating Next-Speaker-Selection*s

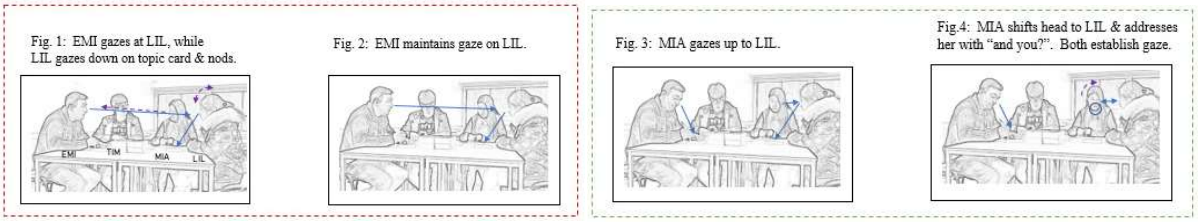
As there is a growing interest in SLA research to investigate the interactional realities in L2 educational-based research through the employment of a CA methodology, this interest has geared towards examining the interplay between the L2 learners' embodiment and language usage in various face-to-face L2 settings, including language classrooms, L2 group interaction and L2 tutorial sessions (e.g. Carroll, 2004; Hauser, 2009; Hazel and Mortensen, 2017; Kaanta, 2010; Lee, 2017; Leyland, 2018; Mortensen, 2009; Olsher, 2004; Satar and Wigham, 2017; Sert and Walsh, 2013; Stivers and Sidnell, 2005). The expanding attention towards researching face-to-face multimodal interaction has been supported by Carroll (2004) and Olsher (2004) in their argument that close considerations need to be allocated towards examining the embodied resources L2 participants utilize during their interactions as the "lack of attention to body behaviours represents not only a gap in the research but a serious methodological blind spot which future research must address" (Carroll, 2004, p. 219). As such, this study contributes to addressing this gap in SLA research via focusing on the L2 test-takers' employment of embodiment to facilitate next-speaker-selections in group-oral-assessment interactions.

Through reviewing previous studies examining group-oral-assessment interactions, it becomes apparent that research has mainly focused on revealing the L2 test-takers' talk via investigating issues such as, how L2 test-takers introduce and negotiate topics (Gan *et al*., 2009), the consistency and validity of the test-takers' scores (Shohamy, 1983; Van Moere, 2007), the impact of the test-takers' familiarity and personal characteristics on their co-participants test scores (Berry, 2004; Ockey, 2009) and the degree to which L2 test-takers interact linguistically (He and Dai, 2006). On the other hand, there are also studies examining the turn-taking practices within L2 group-oral-assessments, though they are relatively limited. In their exploration of the L2 test-takers' turn-taking practices, some studies have revealed the embodied orientations of the L2 test-takers during their turn-taking practices as presented in Gan and Davison (2011), Greer and Potter (2008), Luk (2010), Leyland *et al*. (2016) and Nakatsuhara (2009; 2011). Nevertheless, only a few of these studies have visually displayed the embodied turn-allocation practices of the L2 test-takers such as Greer and Potter's (2008) study. In their study, Greer and Potter (*ibid*) demonstrated how EFL test-takers utilized their embodiment through the interplay with the question 'How about you?' to select another test-taker.

To contribute to the increasing requests calling for a deeper appreciation of L2 multimodal interactional research (Carroll, 2004 and Olsher, 2004), this study adopted a multimodal and micro-analytic approach to examine next-speaker-selection practices in L2 group-oral-assessments. Through employing the recently developed multimodal transcription technique displaying a deeper appreciation for multimodal interaction established by Mondada (2014), this study was able to demonstrate how various embodied resources such as gaze, gesture and body posture were employed by the test-takers to locally facilitate their speaker-transitions. The micro analytic approach has unveiled how an L2 non-primary-speaking test-taker adopted the interactional identity of an enabler via utilizing various embodied actions such as eye gaze, gesture and posture through the interplay of talk to enable another non-primary-speaking test-taker in gaining next-primary-speakership. The detailed analysis has also uncovered that the enabler's turns were interactionally 'subtle' and were also interplayed with quietly produced speech. Through producing such subtle interactions, the enabler succeeded in creating minimal disturbances within the group's interaction while also succeeding in producing interactionally significant turns that assisted in facilitating those problematic turn-transfers the L2 test-takers encountered. Such subtle embodied work by the enabler in creating a speakership platform for a co-participant without causing disturbances to other co-participants, including the current-speaker, deserves to be oriented to and accredited with additional marks for displaying the act of 'Good Citizenship'. As the enabler's embodied work is one form of facilitating speakership rights to another non-primary-speaker and exhibiting 'Good Citizenship', it may be credited under the suggested rating descriptors in Table 8.1. This section unveils how the enablers' 'subtle' embodied actions as they interplayed with their quietly produced talk succeeded in facilitating those speaker-transitions the low-proficiency L2 test-takers oriented to as being 'tricky' or problematic, such as in Excerpt 2 from Chapter 5 and Excerpt 8 from Chapter 6.

Excerpt 2 is a demonstration of how employing only one mode of embodiment, such as eye gaze may lack ability in selecting a co-participant within a group consisting of four participants. In Excerpt 2, EMI, the current-speaker had utilized only his gaze to make a turn-transfer to LIL, a co-participant who was seated across the table from EMI, though was engaged in distributing her gaze trajectory to her assessment document. With LIL not orienting to EMI's eye gaze as a selection attempt for next-primary-speakership, EMI's extended eye gaze towards her failed to achieve its intended action (see fig. 1 & 2). Contrarily, MIA, the non-primary-speaker adopting

the interactional role of an enabler also employed her eye gaze, though in combination with a subtle and immediate head and body shift towards LIL. MIA followed her enabling pursuit with a quietly uttered >°an∞d YOU?:°< which supported in directing LIL's attention from her assessment document to the enabler (see fig. 3 &4). Such subtle embodied actions as they interplayed with quietly produced talk demonstrated that employing embodiment on its own may not always be successful in making a next-speaker-selection, especially when addressing co-participants who are holding diverted gaze trajectories. As Lerner (2003) and Stivers and Rossano (2010) argued, for gaze to work as a turn-allocating tactic, it is imperative that the recipient orients to the gaze and recognizes its intended action. On the other hand, gaining the attention of a non-orienting co-participant may be achieved via the employment of varied embodied resources as well as talk to reveal to the intended recipient that the are the selected party. Moreover, the enabler's use of various multimodal resources in the facilitation of the problematic turn-transfer is an indication that language is basically multimodal, requiring the interplay of talk as well as embodiment (Hazel *et al*. 2014; Homke *et al*., 2017).



Alternatively, Excerpt 8 exemplified how a participant's attempt to display recipiency to a primary-speaker may not be oriented to when the speaker has a diverted gaze trajectory. In Excerpt 8, NAN utilized various embodied actions such as her eye gaze, body posture and hand gesture to gain KAR's orientation towards her but was unable with KAR mainly directing her eye gaze towards her assessment document (see fig. 1), or at times, directing her eye gaze to JAB near a possible TRP. In contrast, with JAB also directing his gaze towards KAR, who was sitting in proximity with NAN, JAB was able to orient towards NAN's embodied actions and treat them as pre-beginning element displays for incipient speakership (Jefferson, 1984; Hayashi, 2013). Despite NAN's failed attempt to gain the primary-speaker's orientation towards her due to the diverted gaze trajectory, NAN revealed an interactional ability in utilizing her embodiment via shifting her displays of claiming next-primary-speakership to JAB, the co-participant who KAR

had diverted her gaze towards when not focusing on her assessment document. Such embodied action by NAN proved to be successful in gaining JAB's orientation towards her and in encouraging JAB to adopt the interactional identity of an enabler to assist her in claiming next-primary-speakership.

Fig. 1: JAB gazes at NAN as she caresses her hair.

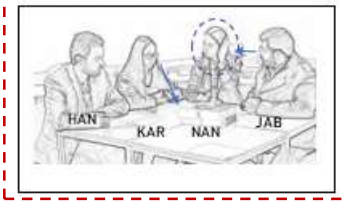
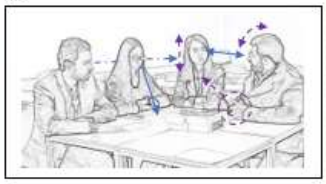


Fig.2: JAB points to NAN with his left index finger as they establish gaze and nod.



After NAN had established gaze with JAB, both NAN and JAB engaged in an embodied speaker-transition negotiation and agreement to claim NAN as the next-primary-speaker during the current-speaker's turn without her recognition or the disruption of her flow of talk (see fig. 2). To conduct the turn-transfer agreement, JAB employed his eye gaze, hand gesture and head nods, with a quietly voiced =>°ðy+ou:°<#= to confirm to NAN that he would assist her in gaining a speakership right upon KAR's turn completion. The embodied interactional work of the recipient as well as the enabler uncovered the criticality of employing successful and understandable embodied actions within a group-oral-assessment. This importance was exhibited in NAN's failed displays to KAR, revealing that although an action producer may utilize multiple embodied resources to gain a recipient's orientation to claim next-primary-speakership, these actions may not achieve their intended actions with the recipient exhibiting a diverted gaze trajectory. On the other hand, when embodied actions are attended to, including by other co-participants, they may reveal to be successful in achieving their intended actions.

Excerpt 8 also uncovered that non-primary-speaking test-takers may benefit from utilizing embodiment during group-oral-assessments to negotiate turn-transfers, including when a current-speaker is producing a turn-at-talk. This was displayed in JAB's and NAN's embodied interactional work in which NAN, a test-taker attempting to display incipient speakership engaged in a speaker-transition agreement with JAB, a non-primary-speaking test-taker who adopted the interactional identity of an enabler, to assist NAN in claiming speakership rights without disturbing the flow of the current-speaker's talk. The excerpt also uncovered that despite the subtleties of the

embodied interactional work, other co-participants who were visually orienting to the embodied interactional work acted upon their co-participants' embodied negotiation and refrained from claiming next-primary-speakership upon the current-speaker's turn completion.

However, it is also important to note that in spite of the turn-transfer negotiation, JAB pursued with his enabling actions after the current-speaker's turn completion with additional embodied actions, such as eye gaze, body posture, hand gesture via index finger pointing and a softly-voiced 'go ahead' response +>°ɡ#ο°<+ . Such multimodal interactional work proved its success not only in facilitating a turn-transfer to NAN. It demonstrated a success in gaining other co-participants' orientation towards NAN as the rightful participant to the floor. Though, it is similarly important to highlight that despite the interactional work being primarily non-verbal in both the negotiation and facilitation sets of interactional work, softly voiced talk was produced by the enabler in both interactions with NAN. The use of a softly uttered talk may have been used to ensure the success of the interactions. Via uttering 'you' in the first instance, the enabler was able to confirm to NAN that he would assist her in gaining next-primary-speakership, an interactional work that is critical in such tightly timed assessed interactions. It is probable that with a confirmation that she would be supported in her claim for next-primary-speakership by a co-participant, this provided her with an opportunity to re-orient to the current-speaker and prepare herself with additional embodied displays of recipiency, such as pointing to her assessment document to gain a next-speakership right without worrying about others competing with her to gain the floor.

Contrarily, it is probable that the enabler's articulation of the 'go ahead' response to NAN, despite being quietly uttered supported the enabler in their facilitation attempt by gaining the attention of co-participants who were holding diverted gaze trajectories and directed them to the enabled participant. The inclusion of talk could have also acted to impede competitive voices in claiming speakership with the enabler displaying that the rightful test-taker to the floor was the one being addressed. Furthermore, the 'go ahead' response may have been employed to encourage the enabled co-participant in hastening her claim for next-primary-speakership while ensuring that the enabler completes his enabling action successfully. Excerpt 8 also demonstrated how the enabler and another non-primary-speaking test-taker via the employment of various embodied resources,

such as gaze, gesture, body posture, talk and use of objects in the surrounding were able to collaboratively negotiate a speakership-transition agreement during the on-going production of another test-taker's talk without creating any disturbance, an agreement that would not have been achieved successfully through the exclusive implementation of verbal resources. This is because extended talk would have interrupted the current-speaker's on-going-talk and exhibited the action as being disaffiliative towards other participants as well as being an unusual act within a test-taking context that exhibits a lack of interactional ability in managing turns successfully. On the other hand, the subtle multimodal interactional work of the low-proficiency L2 test-takers within Excerpt 8 as well as other excerpts revealed that low-proficiency L2 test-takers may actually be interactionally capable in utilizing non-verbal behavior despite holding a level 'five' proficiency or lower, as well as demonstrating that the varied multimodal resources the co-participants utilized produced unique 'multimodal gestalts' (Mondada, 2015; 2016) as they assisted in attaining intersubjectivity between the participating test-takers through ensuring successful facilitation rights to all participating test-takers.

8.2.3 *Expanding the Group Oral Assessment Research Context*

With the increasing enrollment numbers of international L2 learners in English-speaking universities and university-affiliated language institutes offering 'pre-sessional' and 'in-sessional' support services for international English L2 learners, it has become increasingly important and relevant that educational practitioners and researches investigate how international L2 learners utilize the English-language as a 'lingua franca' to interact with other international English L2 learners (Firth and Wagner, 1997). As the English-speaking higher education institutions are becoming increasingly internationalized with the high enrollment numbers of international students, these institutions are expected to adapt to the needs of the international learners to provide them with the academic support they require to enhance their English-language proficiency and assist them in achieving their academic degrees (Andrade, 2006; Ferris and Tagg, 1996; Lillyman and Bennett, 2014; Powers, 1993; Storch, 2009; Taha and Cox, 2016; Young and Schartner, 2014).

To provide the international L2 learners with the relevant support, it is important that an investigation is made into the interactional realities of how the English-language is employed by the L2 learners within various educational-based settings, including oral assessments. Recent

research determined to reveal the interactional realities of international English L2 learners have examined how L2 learners within a language-classroom in the US interacted during a classroom group discussion (Lee, 2017). The study provided insightful findings regarding the learners' use of embodiment to distribute or disclaim primary-speakership during a class-interaction via the use of gaze, gesture or touch. Nonetheless, further research is required to gain a broader understanding of the interactional realities of international L2 learners in various educational-based contexts, including group-oral-assessments. In spite of the significance of Lee's (2017) study, the data was collected from a non-assessed interaction, which provides different interactional patterns than that of an assessed and time-restricted interaction.

Despite the presence of research examining L2 group-oral-assessment interactions, the findings were predominantly collected from non-English-speaking contexts, mainly within Asian settings (see Gan, 2010; Gan and Davison, 2011; Greer and Potter, 2008; Leyland *et al*., 2016; Lam, 2018; Luk, 2010; Nakatsuhara, 2009; 2011; Sandlund and Sundqvist, 2011; Van Moere, 2007). This is not to argue that such contexts are irrelevant, but rather to propose that with the expanding usage of L2 group-oral-assessments in English-speaking university-affiliated language institutes, such as those within the UK, it is important to investigate the interactional realities that emerge between the English language learners holding diverse linguistic, cultural and educational backgrounds, including being of a different age group. One purpose is to compare between the interactional patterns that emerge between international English L2 test-takers and those that emerge amongst the monolingual English L2 test-takers as they undertake an assessed discussion, including examining their speakership-management practices.

Moreover, through conducting this study in an international setting, the study contributes to providing greater insight into the L2 user/L2 user interaction as suggested by Firth and Wagner (1997) via expanding and uncovering the interactional realities attributed to contexts where English is used as the medium of instruction as well as for communication between the international language learners. Most importantly, expanding the group-oral-assessment research scope to include international contexts provides the gatekeepers of the language institutes with a deeper understanding of the linguistic and interactional capabilities of international English L2 learners of various proficiency levels, assisting through that the gatekeepers in accommodating and adapting

their academic support services to suit the L2 learners' needs. Furthermore, it is important to shed light on L2 learners' interactional achievements within an international ESL context where learners are expected to enhance their English-language proficiency to become capable of interacting with other L2 learners as well as expert English-speakers in an English-speaking academic context in which it may be difficult for the L2 learners to switch to another common mother-tongue language when faced with interactional trouble within the institutional setting.

To pursue with my proposal for the need to investigate the interactional realities emerging between international L2 test-takers and how they compare to the interactional realities amongst monolingual English L2 test-takers, the following section sheds light on speakership-transition patterns uncovered within this study and compares them to other third-party speakership-transition patterns that have emerged within EFL contexts.

8.2.4 *Comparing between an Enabler's and other 'Third-Party' Speaker-Transitions*

With spoken interaction being primarily organized in relation to the distribution of turns between the participating members, the speaker-transition practices the co-participants utilize during their talk-in-interaction tend to be finely coordinated, providing speakership rights to one party at a time. Sacks *et al*. (1974) proposed that there are specific turn allocation rules that govern how co-participants in mundane conversation attain next turns, either through (i) a current-speaker selecting a next-speaker for primary-speakership; or (ii) a co-participant self-selecting to gain next-primary-speakership. Sacks *et al*. (1974) follows-up via providing further details into how the co-participants actually perform the speaker-transition process from one current-speaker to another during a group conversation, revealing that:

(a) As a current-speaker approaches a possible completion point and selects another co-participant to speak, then it is mandated that the current-speaker stop talking and the selected co-participant start their turn.

(b) Though, when the current-speaker does not select a co-participant to speak next upon approaching a possible completion point, then any co-member may self-select to start their turn. In the event there are more than one co-member attempting to self-select, the first starter is the one who holds the right to the next turn.

(c) However, if the current-speaker reaches a possible completion point, and does not select any co-participant to the floor, nor does any other co-member self-select for primary-speakership, then the current-speaker may, but is not obliged to proceed with a turn.

This turn-taking model developed by Sacks *et al*. (1974), presents the speaker-transition methods that co-participants may utilize during a conversation to either 'select a next-speaker' or 'self-select' for a next turn. Although these speaker-transition rules generally display how co-participants manage their turn-selection practices within a conversation, there are cases when these rules are not necessarily interactionally compatible with the institutionality of the interaction. The turn-allocation system within institutional goal-oriented interactions may require other speaker-transition practices by the co-participants to conduct and fulfil the institutionally focused action (Drew and Heritage, 1992). For example, the speaker-transition practices in workplace meetings may require different interactional practices than those found in mundane multiparty interactions (Ford and Stickle, 2012). One variance is that in workplace meetings speaker-transitions tend to be allocated or secured via the meeting's chair, who has been pre-established and oriented to by co-participants as holding the interactional role of a 'chair' and the distributer of turns, in which self-selectors may sometimes be required to display their recipiency to the meeting's chair to gain next-primary-speakership, unlike turn-allocations attributed to mundane interaction (Ford and Stickle, 2012).

Likewise, L2 group-oral-assessments have also witnessed a variation in the speaker-transition system from that proposed by Sacks *et al*. (1974) via the involvement of non-primary-speaking test-takers in conducting turn-allocations to other test-takers. This was mainly due to the test-takers orientating to the institutional-goal of the assessed interaction that of ensuring all test-takers gain an opportunity to display a speech sample for assessment. A few studies that had examined L2 group-oral-assessment interaction revealed how a non-primary-speaker, usually being the most proficient in English within their group, may adopt the interactional role of a 'pivot' by their frequent invoking into the assessed discussion to distribute speakership turns to non-participating members, though generally revealing a lack of success in getting the quiet test-taker to produce a speech sample for assessment, as distribution attempts tend to come as a surprise for the addressed recipient (Greer and Potter, 2008). Nakatsuhara (2009; 2011) also revealed how a test-taker within a group-oral-assessment may display him/herself as an 'expert' in an attempt to select a quiet test-taker as a next-speaker to get them involved into the interaction.

The current study has also unveiled a third-party speaker-transition pattern, though conducted in an interactionally different manner, in which a non-primary-speaking test-taker adopted the interactional identity of an enabler to facilitate what co-participants oriented to as being a problematic or 'tricky' speaker-transition to ensure all test-takers attain a 'fair' or 'equal' opportunity to the floor to display a speech sample for assessment. The enabler's interactional work was required to facilitate a speaker-transition when: (i) a current-speaker struggled to select another test-taker, (ii) a test-taker struggled to select him/herself for primary-speakership, and (iii) to select a thus-far quiet student who does not display recipiency to gain the floor. A non-primary-speaker's adoption of an enabler's interactional work to assist another non-primary-speaking test-taker not only revealed a successful interactional ability in gaining the enabled co-participant with a speakership right, but it also exhibited the enabler's display of 'Good Citizenship' via orienting to the institutional-goal of the assessed interaction of ensuring all test-takers gain an opportunity to display a speech sample for assessment. With the enabler performing interactionally different actions to facilitate struggling speaker-transitions, the actions also produce varying results from those achieved by other third-party speaker-transitions such as that of a 'pivot' or a test-taker displaying 'expertise'.

The three excerpts demonstrating the enabler's interactional work to create a successful speakership-transition from one test-taker to another are presented according to Sack *et al.*'s (1974) turn-allocation rules, with the first example revealing the enabler's interactional process in facilitating a problematic speaker-selection from one test-taker to another as demonstrated in Excerpt 3 from Chapter 5, the second excerpt reveals the enabler's work in assisting a struggling self-selection as demonstrated in Excerpt 6 from Chapter 6 and the final excerpt uncovers how an enabler facilitates a speaker-transition from a talkative current-speaker to another who has thus-far not been able to gain primary-speakership during the assessed discussion as demonstrated within Excerpt 11 from Chapter 7.

In Excerpt 3, SUL, the current-speaker engaged in two attempts to create a turn-transfer to DAN but displayed a lack of ability in gaining DAN's orientation as he held a diverted gaze trajectory. After orienting to a delayed turn-transfer, JIM, a non-primary-speaker adopted the interactional role of an enabler to facilitate a next-speaker-selection to DAN via employing gaze,

a hand gesture, a change in body posture, and a directed question towards DAN to ensure a successful facilitation to DAN. The directed question not only assisted in managing a speaker-transition to DAN, it also acted to provide DAN with a platform to pursue with the topic under discussion and display his stance on the topic. Such interactional work by the enabler gained DAN's gaze orientation and shifted the original turn-allocation practice from the current-speaker selecting a next-speaker to a non-primary-speaker facilitating a speaker transition to another non-primary-speaker. The enabler's interactional work not only uncovered the enabler's interactional ability in managing next-speaker-selections and successful use of embodied resources, it also revealed the enabler's orientation to ensuring all test-takers gain speakership rights, which is an act of 'Good Citizenship'. Furthermore, as the facilitation act was successful, it maintained the progression of the task without the presence of long pauses, as well as revealing the enabler's interactional competence in implementing successful turn management skills and topic management skills via facilitating a topic expansion for the topic under discussion. Most importantly, the enabled co-participant revealed an immediate uptake to the enabling action and progressed with their turn-at-talk while addressing the enabler. Moreover, the current-speaker did not engage in any actions of dismay towards the enabler's interactional work, unlike those projected towards the 'pivot's' interactional work.

Upon comparing between the enabler's interactional role and the pivot's, the pivot's actions were at times rejected by the current-speaker, with the current-speaker immediately making the selection after the pivot as a claim that it is his/her right to select the next-speaker (Greer and Potter, 2008). On the other hand, the enabler in excerpt 3 as well as in other excerpts within this study, the enabler was not oriented to as producing interactionally disaffiliative actions as the enabler adopted the interactional role after noticing a speaker-transition problem, such as in excerpt 3, where the current-speaker was struggling to produce a successful speaker-transition to another test-taker. The interactional work of the enabler not only demonstrated the enabler's careful monitoring of his co-participants but also his orientation to the institutional-goal of the group-oral assessment, that of ensuring all test-takers gain a right to the floor to display a speech sample for assessment.

In Excerpt 6, the enabler's interactional identity was adopted to facilitate a successful speaker-transition to a struggling self-selector. The excerpt revealed how KAR, a self-selector

failed in her first self-selection attempt but succeeded in claiming primary-speakership despite her hesitation after the enabler oriented to her via his multimodal actions and established her right to claim next-primary-speakership. KAR's lack of ability to successfully establish herself for primary-speakership was mainly due to her continuous orientation towards her assessment document and failure to orient towards her co-participants' embodied actions and recognize the appropriate time to engage and claim speakership.

After orienting to KAR's hesitation to progress with a turn-at-talk through the production of a hesitation marker, the enabler extended an open-palm gesture towards KAR followed by an acknowledgement token to encourage KAR in establishing herself as the primary-speaker. As the enabler's interactional role was oriented towards ensuring a smooth speaker-transition between the test-takers to ensure all members gain an opportunity to display a speech sample prior to time termination, the enabler oriented to this institutionality of the interaction and as such did not prevent KAR from progressing with her claim for primary-speakership when she began a turn-at-talk prior to HAN, who was previously selected by the current-speaker as the next-primary-speaker but delayed claiming his speakership right. In this interaction, the enabler revealed an attempt to display a positive interactional role via orienting to the normalized turn-allocation rules by intervening only when struggles ascended to make a successful speaker-transition from one test-taker to another. In addition, the subtle multimodal interaction performed by the enabler revealed the enabler's interactional ability to utilize various vocal and embodied resources to facilitate a successful speaker-transition, and not mainly relying upon a specific speaker-selection phrase such as 'How about you?' to produce a selection, as the pivot was witnessed to perform (Greer and Potter, 2008). Furthermore, the interactional work of the enabler demonstrated how speaker-transitions were locally managed between co-participants and not pre-allocated as may be noticeable in other institutional-based contexts.

Although the enabler's role emerged to facilitate a turn-transfer during group-oral-assessments, the interactional role, despite being context-dependent as other context-dependent behavior, proved to be significant in ensuring a successful distribution of turns is provided to all test-takers within a group. The current study revealed that focus should not be primarily oriented towards examining what a current-speaker performs or achieves, rather it is essential to investigate

how co-participants are provided with a platform to become a next-primary-speaker. As managing turn-taking is not only relevant to what one speaker does themselves, but how co-participants engage and effectively collaborate to achieve next-speaker-selections, this further emphasizes the important interactional work of an enabler and the need to include it within the assessment criteria. With the current assessment criteria displaying descriptors that partly relate to some of the interactional work performed by an enabler, there is a need to better appreciate how the enabler carries out their interactional actions via incorporating more criteria, such as 'Good Citizenship', which examines how the enabler ensures other co-participants gain an opportunity to speak. Through utilizing video-based observations, assessors may be better informed about the interactional work of the enabler.

It is also relevant to note that within Excerpt 6, as in Excerpt 3, upon KAR, the enabled co-participant seeing the enabler's hand extended towards her and hearing his vocal acknowledgment, she immediately raised her body posture and began her production of her talk by providing her stance on the topic for discussion. This demonstrated how the interactional role of an enabler varied from that of a pivot in that the assistive role of an enabler not only facilitated speaker-transitions to test-takers struggling to claim primary-speakership, but also when the successful speaker-transitions were facilitated to the enabled test-takers these test-takers displayed immediate uptake, revealing a keenness to gain next-primary-speakership. On the other hand, the pivot's interactional work has also been noted to sometimes being interactionally disturbing not only to the speaking test-takers but also to the selected participant who may at numerous occasions display an unwillingness to speak after being claimed the primary-speaker (Greer and Potter, 2008). According to Greer and Potter (*ibid*), such interactional work has demonstrated to be negatively oriented to as the selected test-taker by not producing further talk only revealed additional disfluency as a language user. In contrast to the enabler's interaction work, with KAR being established as the rightful primary-speaker, she then oriented to JAB, the enabler, with her gaze during her talk as the co-participant assisting her in claiming her primary-speakership. The analysis also uncovered that despite the subtle multimodal actions of the enabler, they demonstrated an ability to assist KAR in establishing her hesitant claims for next-primary-speakership.

Excerpt 11 from Chapter 7 also examined the interactional work of an enabler to select a thus-far quiet test-taker who does not display recipiency to gain the floor. This third-party interactional work has also been noted in other group-oral-assessment interactions, as a pivot (Greer and Potter, 2008) or as a test-taker displaying 'expertise' (Nakatsuhara, 209; 2011) in which these test-takers orient to the institutional-goal of the L2 group-oral-assessment, that of ensuring all participating test-takers gain an opportunity to display a speech sample for assessment. Despite the similarities between the pivot, the test-taker displaying expertise and the enabler in orienting to the institutional-goal of the interaction, Excerpt 11 demonstrated that the enabler's interactional work varied from that of a pivot's and a test-taker displaying 'expertise' in managing next-speaker-selections.

After co-participants in Excerpt 11 engaged in a relatively lengthened repair sequence, SUL, a non-primary-speaker attempted to end the progression of the repair sequence after the current-speaker had produced the correct term and was acknowledged by other co-participants. To pursue with the assessed task and ensure all test-takers gain an equal opportunity to the floor, SUL skillfully ended the repair sequence by addressing the current speaker with a correct repetition of term, then employed various embodied resources, such gaze direction, head and body posture, and index pointing to address HAN with an interplay of the question 'what about you?' to claim HAN as the next-primary-speaker. Although a pivot may also utilize the question 'how about you?' to select a quiet test-taker, as the enabler did in this excerpt, the speaker-transition process adopted by the enabler tends to vary from the interactional work of a pivot, attributing through that a variant result (Greer and Potter, 2008). To ensure intersubjectivity is maintained between the co-participants, the enabler, prior to conducting the actual speaker-transition to the enabled test-taker addressed the current-speaker first. This was to display acknowledgment and to confirm understanding of the previous current-speaker's talk. On the other hand, Greer and Potter's (*ibid*) analysis revealed the pivot's disturbance of an interaction displayed that the pivot did not necessarily address the previous test-taker, but upon gaining the floor immediately addressed the quiet test-taker with the question 'How about you?'. This tends to produce irresponsive results from the quiet test-taker, at times being due to lack of expectancy that they have been selected by the pivot for next-primary-speakership (Greer and Potter, 2008).

However, upon examining the successful speaker-transition practices of test-takers displaying 'expertise' and conducting interactions where they adopted an asymmetric interactional relationship with a quiet test-taker, the 'expert' test-taker was seen to utilize scaffolding behavior to engage the quiet test-takers into the interaction (Nakatsuhara, 2009; 2011). What is interactionally relevant is that to create a successful speaker-transition attempt, the 'expert' test-taker did not make the selection of the quiet test-taker immediately upon gaining the floor as in the case of a pivot, but rather commented on or acknowledged the previous test-taker's opinion prior to addressing the supported test-taker. This was performed through producing supporting responses and utilizing sequence openers prior to addressing the quiet test-takers with a question to elicit their responses (Nakatsuhara, 2011). This form of interaction seemed to produce more successful speaker-transitions as was also witnessed within the current study. Nevertheless, as the interactional work of an 'expert' test-taker involved a test-taker with a higher proficiency level, the interaction between the test-takers tend to be of an 'asymmetric expert/novice interactions' (Nakatsuhara, 2011) in which the test-taker claiming expertise exceeded with their interaction from focusing primarily on selecting a quiet test-taker to performing additional practices to ensure the quiet test-taker pursued with their turn (Nakatsuhara, 2011). A similar interactional work has been recognized by the enabler attempting to ensure that a thus-far quiet test-taker maintained their right to the floor during the presence of a talkative test-taker (see Excerpts 9 and 10 in Chapter 7).

Furthermore, Excerpt 11 also revealed that when the thus-far quiet test-taker was addressed with a question for the purpose of ensuring their right to the floor, the enabled test-taker was noticed to produce an immediate response to the enabler, while also orienting during their talk to the enabler as the co-participant who made their selection and provided them with the opportunity to gain primary-speakership. In spite of the enabler's employment of subtle multimodal interactions, the enabler generally succeeded in facilitating problematic speaker-transitions as the enabler aimed to ensure the interactional success of the institutional interaction, as well as ensuring a fair or equal speakership-right is provided to all test-takers. As the interactional achievements of an enabler have been attributed to the enabler's orientation towards the broader institutional goal of the interaction as well as to their orientation to their co-participants' speakership rights, it becomes relevant that there is a need to display a deeper appreciation to the third-party's role in facilitating problematic speaker-transitions and display of 'Good Citizenship', primarily within multiparty institutional settings.

Moreover, it is important to shed light on the interactional role of an enabler in assisting struggling other-selections, self-selections as well as providing speakership opportunities to thus-far quiet co-participants in institutional multiparty talk. Although the enabler emerged within groups consisting of L2 low-proficiency test-takers who encountered problematic turn-transfers, the enabler's interactional work exhibited that low-proficiency L2 test-takers are not "interactional dopes" (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 58) and that they hold interactional ability to manage turn-taking, non-verbal behavior as well as display interactive listening, whereby the enabler was able to engage with the current-speaker at the appropriate time via backchanneling, and then immediately creating a smooth shift to address the enabled test-taker. With the enabler revealing highly sophisticated interactional ability, to also facilitate topic expansions in addition to other interactional skills through the use of questions to shift next-speaker-selections, it becomes important to appreciate the interactional work of the enabler and expand understanding about how interactional competence assists L2 test-takers in creating successful turn-allocations.

Furthermore, it is relevant to highlight that unlike the pivot, who tends to be the most proficient group member, the enabler adopted the interactional work to facilitate a problematic turn-transfer upon orienting to the presence of a problem and pursued in the act of displaying 'Good Citizenship' to provide other test-takers with an opportunity to claim a speakership right. As such, the enabler's interactional identity may be adopted by any non-primary-speaking participant orienting to the unfolding of the interaction. In fact, upon examining Table 4.3, which displays the participants' characteristics per test-taking group, it is revealed that an enabler may emerge once during an interaction, or twice or by different co-participants who have oriented to the interactional unfolding and recognized the presence of a turn-transfer problem then attempted to engage in an act of 'Good Citizenship' to assist other non-primary-speaking test-takers in gaining speakership rights. It is also important to understand that turn-allocations and selections are not primarily restricted to the involvement of a selector and a selectee, but rather, in some institutional-based interactions, such as group-oral-assessments, the role of an enabler becomes interactionally paramount in ensuring speakership-transitions are facilitated successfully to all members.

8.3 Limitations of the Study

Although the primary aim of this study was to investigate the interactional practices of L2 test-takers' talk-in-interaction during a group-oral-assessment, having gained access to the test-takers' scores would have assisted in expanding the research scope via comparing between the interactional practices of an *enabler* in facilitating problematic speaker-transitions to other test-takers with the examiners' orientations to them via the display of test-scores. Though with the gatekeepers treating the test-takers' scores with extreme confidentiality, this was not possible. Yet, attempting to gain such access may be considered in future research. Nevertheless, for the purpose of conducting this study, the lack of test-score access was not deemed problematic as this is one of the few studies employing a detailed multimodal and micro-analytic analysis for the purpose of investigating the interactional practices that emerge between L2 test-takers in managing their speakership-transitions from one test-taker to another, and without relating them to the participants' test-scores.

Alternatively, with the expanding view in CA research towards the relevance of investigating object handling and manipulation in face-to-face interaction (Nevile *et al*., 2014), including within L2 interaction (Greer and Leyland, forthcoming), the analysis of the current study would have demonstrated a better appreciation towards the written assessment documents the test-takers were orienting to, such as their topic-cards, had there been an additional camera positioned overhead of the test-takers, as previously conducted in Mondada's (2007) and Leyland's (2018) studies. Such camera positioning would have provided a better access to the test-takers' pointing-positions on their topic-cards, revealing the parts of the questions gaining the test-takers' orientations during their interactions and their management of extended turn-transitions. Future research on L2 test-taker interaction may expand the investigation to examine the link between test-takers' object handling of their assessment documents and how such orientations link to their management of next-speaker selections in L2 group-oral-assessments. Furthermore, it is important to highlight that despite the significant findings of the study, it remains to be a small-scale study with findings based on interactions collected from 19 groups, meaning that the study presents an extant set of occurrences, as opposed to a representative sample of extracts.

8.4 Implications and Contributions to the Field

In spite of the presented limitations, the current study provides several contributions and implications for the field of SLA and specifically for the construct of 'interactional competence', as defined in (Galaczi and Taylor, 2018), for CA methodology, multimodality and group-oral-assessments. The findings contribute to the body of research on group interaction and group-oral-assessment research by revealing the ways L2 test-takers work to enable the successful distribution of extended turns of talk across participants. In addition, as these enabling actions are achieved through the interplay of vocal and embodied actions, the findings create an important bridge between research on L2 oral assessments and multimodality, highlighting the ways participants who adopt the interactional identity of an *enabler* rely upon gaze, gesture, body reconfigurations and talk to facilitate next-speaker-selections to a next-primary-speaker (e.g. Greer and Potter, 2008; Mondada, 2014; 2016; Nakatsuhara, 2009; Streeck, Goodwin and LeBaron, 2011). As such, the current study contributes to the body of research adopting a multimodal CA perspective to examine how co-participants draw upon various multimodal resources to facilitate successful next-speaker-selections during a group-oral-assessment.

Furthermore, the findings from this study contribute to fulfill the increasing call in SLA research to expand the parameters of examining social interaction research in educational-based settings, including assessments (Firth and Wagner, 1997). Through employing a multimodal and micro-analytic analysis of L2 test-takers' talk-in-interaction during an assessed group oral discussion, the study uncovered a unique interactional practice that co-participants may adopt during a group-oral-assessment to enable the successful facilitation of next-speaker-selections. Such findings not only provide a greater understanding of L2 learners' interactional capabilities and successes during interaction, as Firth and Wagner (1997) propose to be requiring further research, the study also contributes to a small body of research in a growing area, that of investigating the interactional realities within 'pre-sessional' and 'in-sessional' university-affiliated language support services for international students. This expanding area of research is increasing in importance as the university-affiliated language institutes are becoming more common in English-speaking countries as the English-speaking universities are becoming increasingly internationalized (Andrade, 2006; Lillyman and Bennett, 2014; Taha and Cox, 2016; Young and Schartner, 2014). Although the growing enrollment numbers of international students

in English-speaking universities may be considered enriching in various ways for both the host countries as well as the international students, it nevertheless requires these higher education institutions to adapt to the international learners' needs through providing the L2 learners with the academic support they require to enhance their English language skills as well as assist them in adjusting to the academic traditions of learning within the particular English-speaking country they are residing within, such as the UK (Andrade, 2006; Ferris and Tagg, 1996; Powers, 1993; Storch, 2009; Young and Schartner, 2014).

With the expanding small body of research currently employing CA as a methodology to examine the 'in-sessional' and 'pre-sessional' support services offered by the UK university-affiliated language institutes, this study also contributes to the growing body of research on internationalizing English-speaking universities via providing a greater understanding of the realities associated with the linguistic and academic support provided to international English L2 learners in UK university-affiliated language institutes. A recent study by Leyland (2018) had investigated the interactional work that tutors undergo during an 'in-sessional' one-to-one writing tutorial to offer support to L2 learners with their academic writing pieces generally produced for their university degree classes. Although the findings of the study are highly beneficial for the support providers, in terms of the language institutes as well as the tutors in how to provide advice to those international L2 learners resisting their tutor's advice, the study sheds light on one type of support offered in these UK university-affiliated language institutes by examining the interaction between an expert English language user and an international English language learner during this academic support service.

Contrarily, the current study examines the interaction between groups of international L2 learners in an oral assessment context without the presence of an 'expert' in the interaction. This type of oral assessment is becoming widely utilized including UK 'pre-sessional' language support services for international English L2 learners for the purpose of assessing the learners' linguistic and interactional capabilities. As such, this research provides a theoretical contribution by expanding knowledge about the construct of interactional competence (IC), and how a test-taker's interactional competence in employing turn management is actually overlapping with the IC skills of embodiment and interactive listening skills, revealing a highly complex and multimodal level of

IC. Moreover, with a non-primary-speaking L2 test-taker adopting the interactional identity of an *enabler* via employing various IC aspects to ensure the facilitation of a problematic turn-transfer to another non-primary-speaking test-taker, the L2 test-takers, including those holding low-proficiency, reveal an interactional competence through their display of 'Good Citizenship', which deserves to be oriented to and accredited by examiners. The following sections provide a more detailed analysis of the theoretical, methodological and practical contributions of the current study.

8.4.1 *Theoretical Contributions*

Through adopting a detailed multimodal turn-by-turn sequential analysis the current research was able to shed light on L2 low-proficiency test-takers' interactional abilities via demonstrating how a non-primary-speaker facilitated a problematic turn-transfer to another non-primary-speaker to select him/her for next-primary-speakership. To better apprehend the test-taker's interactional competencies, the study adopted Galaczi and Taylor's (2018) definition of interactional competence to examine the minute interactional skills that facilitate successful turn-transfers from one non-primary-speaker to another non-primary-speaker. The analysis identified the interactional aspects of interactive listening, turn management, non-verbal behavior and to an extent topic management. The analysis uncovered that displaying interactional competence in turn management required a participant to be holding interactive listening competencies as well as competence in utilizing non-verbal behavior. Furthermore, via holding turn management competencies, a participant may also display an interactional ability to perform topic management, which could assist in the progressivity of an on-going discussion or task. In other words, IC features tend to overlap during successful interaction, including during facilitation attempts by a non-primary-speaker adopting the interactional role of an *enabler* to assist another non-primary-speaker in gaining primary-speakership. As such, it may be argued that a further IC aspect may be included to represent the complex multimodal demonstrations of three or more IC aspects produced congruently to facilitate a next-speaker-selection during a face-to-face interaction, referenced as a an act of 'Good Citizenship'. The inclusion of 'Good Citizenship' criteria to represent an IC aspect for the purpose of evaluating the interactional capabilities of L2 test-takers adopting the interactional role of an enabler may be examined in future research to better appreciate the complex interactional work of co-participants in group-oral-assessments.

On the other hand, with the adoption of CA as a methodology, the study has revealed the L2 test-takers' interactional success in overcoming problematic next-speaker selections via a third-party adopting the interactional identity of an '*enabler*' to facilitate the problematic speaker-transitions from one test-taker to another. Such finding presents implications for CA research within social institutional-based interactions demonstrating a need to further appreciate the unique interactional phenomenon of the role of an 'enabler', a third-party who is a non-primary-speaker but engages to assist in facilitating problematic speaker-transitions from one co-participant to another. This expands our understanding of the turn-allocation practices as presented in Sacks *et al*. (1974) from turn-allocations primarily requiring a selector and a selectee to perform a next-speaker selection to include the interactional role of a third-party to facilitate problematic next-speaker selections within institutional-based interactions. This finding contributes with an additional terminological term of an institutional-based interactional role of a third-party identity the '*enabler*', that intervenes in an interaction to facilitate a successful next-speaker selection to another co-participant without seizing the moment to claim primary-speakership for him/herself. The interactional identity of an *enabler* may be included as one type of third-party identities that may become interactionally present in institutional-based interactions, such as the presence of a 'chair' in workplace meetings to manage speaker-transitions between participants (Ford and Stickle, 2012) or the presence of a 'pivot' to select quiet co-participants in educational-based multiparty interactions (Greer and Potter, 2008; Hauser, 2009).

Moreover, via adopting a detailed multimodal and micro-analytic analysis, the current study contributes to the field of multimodal CA by strengthening the bridge between group-oral-assessment research and multimodality, highlighting the ways an 'enabler' relies upon gaze, gesture and talk to ensure the successful selection of the next-primary-speaker. As these enabling actions are achieved through the manipulation of a series of vocal and embodied actions, the current study draws upon recent thinking in multimodality in interaction (e.g. Mondada, 2007; 2016; Streeck *et al*., 2011). Furthermore, adopting a detailed multimodal and micro-analytic analysis has assisted in demonstrating how L2 test-takers achieve interactional success through the interplay of talk and embodiment, even when assessed as holding low-proficiency levels in English, which further contributes to our understanding of the L2 test-takers' interactional competence as they undertake group-oral-assessments. The multimodal analysis has also revealed that low-proficiency L2 test-takers may engage in embodied speaker transition agreements during a current speaker's

on-going talk without creating disturbances, exhibiting through that a high level of interactional competence. It is also worth noting that the multimodal interactions adopted by the enabler, despite being subtle, produce interactionally successful speakership-transitions. This is attained via the presence of at least one L2 test-taker orienting to the institutional-goal of the assessed interaction, through ensuring speakership-rights are provided to all test-takers, uncovering through that another interactional practice of L2 test-takers, that of test-takers not only orienting to their speakership-rights, but also of ensuring their co-participants' speakership rights to the floor. Such findings contribute to demonstrating a broader understanding of the locally-managed interactional practices occurring between test-takers within L2 group-oral-assessments, uncovering that L2 test-takers are "not interactional dopes" (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 58), but are rather interactionally competent second language speakers.

8.4.2 *Methodological Contributions*

The current study contributes to the body of research adopting a multimodal CA perspective to examine how co-participants draw upon various multimodal resources to facilitate successful next-speaker-selections. To present multimodal transcripts, Mondada's (2014) multimodal approach was followed very closely, producing highly detailed and up-to-date transcriptions. However, current transcripts have also been enriched with a letter-coding as well as a color-coding system to further enhance transcript readability and analytic understanding.

The adoption of letter-coding and color-coding systems was to assist in guiding the reader in identifying the main interactional work within the transcripts, as well as to gain a general understanding of the main interactional actions that led to the emergence of the interactional role of the enabler. The presence of visually highlighted excerpts also create a smoother connection between the test-takers' talk and their relevant embodied actions via highlighting the related multimodal interactions in a similar color-coded scheme. As the visually highlighted excerpts are also letter-coded, they perform as a color-coded analytic summary of the interactional work emerging within the excerpts via highlighting the problematic turn-transfers in red, the enabler's multimodal interactional work in green, and the enabled participant's orientation and uptake in orange. Such a visually highlighted excerpt not only acts as an analytic summary for the researcher and reader via visually highlighting the main interactional actions within the detailed transcriptions,

but it also assists in highlighting and identifying the problems that may create a delayed turn-transfer to a co-participant in assessment settings and recognizing the multimodal resources a co-participant may utilize to enable a successful facilitation of a turn-transfer from one co-participant to another.

The visually highlighted excerpts also act as two-fold, providing a final analytic summary after a detailed examination of the excerpt or as a guide to novice CA transcription readers to enhance their analytic understanding of the main interactional unfolding within the transcripts. The visually highlighted excerpts also act to summarize and relate between the different excerpts, identifying the commonalities and differences between L2 test-takers' interactional work and exhibiting how a non-primary-speaker's interactional role is emerged to facilitate successful next-speaker-selections. Such visually detailed work places an extra emphasis on having accurate and detailed transcriptions that provide the reader with a deep sense of the interaction taking place. In addition to employing letter and color-coding systems to represent the embodied behavior in the transcripts, relevant snapshots have been included with colored arrows and commentaries to guide the reader and increase comprehension of embodied interaction. Such employment of letter and color-coding systems may prove to be beneficial for novice CA readers as well as practitioners especially with the increased employment of CA as a methodology in various fields of research, providing through that an opportunity to highlight the similarities and differences in interactional work between participants in varying social contexts, as well as instigating researchers to orient towards the detailed interactional work of co-participants within a social interaction.

8.4.3 *Practical Contributions*

The current study provides practical contributions to the field of testing as well as to teaching and learning.

8.4.3.1 Contributions to Testing

The current study provides contributions and implications for the field of SLA and specifically for CA methodology and group-oral-assessments. As previously noted, with claims of the presence of an 'imbalance' in SLA research favoring cognitive and perception-based research examining L2 learners' linguistic performance (Firth and Wagner, 1997; 2007), this study addressed this issue by expanding the research scope by examining the interactional practices of L2 test-takers via linking between L2 group-oral-assessment research and CA research. The study builds on earlier contributions of L2 group-oral-assessments utilizing a social interactional approach to investigate the turn-taking practices within group-oral-assessments (e.g. Greer and Potter, 2008; Nakatsuhara, 2009).

The current study has unveiled that L2 test-takers conducting group-oral-assessments, including those holding low-proficiency-levels were capable of self-organizing successful next-speaker-selections. Such finding supports Firth and Wagner's (1997) claim that language learners even when holding low-proficiency-levels can be competent interactional participants and they should not be stigmatized as being incompetent learners or "interactional dopes" (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 58). With the current study revealing that L2 test-takers holding a level 'four' estimated at an IELTS 4.5-5.0 or an A2.2/B1.1 (intermediate) CEFR level and a level 'five' at an IELTS 5.0-5.5 or a B1.2/B2.1 (intermediate/upper-intermediate) CEFR level have displayed an interactional competence in managing next-speaker-selections successfully during a group-oral-assessment. As such, there is a need to refine the existing CEFR turn-taking scale to better appreciate the turn-taking capabilities of L2 learners. As the study exhibited that L2 learners estimated at holding a CEFR level of A2.2 were able to adopt the interactional role of an enabler via employing various multimodal resources to facilitate turn-transfers to other non-primary-speakers, then it becomes important to better appreciate the importance of turn-taking management at lower levels and refine the existing CEFR turn-taking scale.

To manage turn-taking successfully, the L2 test-takers adopting the interactional role of an enabler displayed an ability to comprehend their co-participants' language and interactional work through their detailed monitoring of their co-participants' on-going and unfinished talk as well as their body language. Such monitoring revealed that test-takers hold an ability to understand their co-participants' interactional aspirations, such as when the interactional work reveals a co-participant is intending to give or receive primary-speakership, or is facing a turn-transfer problem, even when holding low-proficiency-levels. As such, based on the current study's analytic findings, the CEFR turn-taking scale may be refined to include additional descriptors for the lower-proficiency-level non-primary-speakers as suggested in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2 Suggested Turn-Taking Descriptor

Level	The L2 learner, as a non-primary-speaker can…
B1/B1.2	a) Employ body language (e.g. gaze, hand gesture, posture) skillfully to select another non-primary-speaking co-participant. b) Use questions to manage turn-taking and facilitate a problematic turn-transfer. c) Monitor co-participants' talk and body language and engage at appropriate time. d) Employ embodiment to negotiate a turn-transfer with other co-participants during a co-participant's talk without disturbing the current-speaker.
A2.2	a) Employ body language (e.g. gaze, hand gesture) to select another non-primary-speaking participant. b) Use questions to manage turn- taking and facilitate a problematic turn-transfer. c) Monitor co-participants' talk and body language and engage at appropriate time.

In addition to the suggested turn-taking rating descriptors for lower-proficiency-levels, the current study has also proposed that current speaking assessment criteria incorporate an additional criterion that examines the enabler's interactional work when engaging in a facilitating action of a

problematic turn-transfer to ensure all participants gain a speakership right during the group-oral-assessment. With the enabler orienting to ensuring the rights of co-participants, the enabler displayed an act of 'Good Citizenship', and as such, 'Good Citizenship' could be included as an additional criterion, in which test-takers adopting the interactional work of an enabler deserve to be accredited for displaying their 'good Citizenship'. With video-based training, examiners would be better able to identify and appreciate the significance of the enabler's interactional work in managing next-speaker-selections.

8.4.3.2 Contributions to Teaching and Learning

The findings of the current study can better inform teachers and learners on how L2 learners could engage in more successful next-speaker-selections and how to tackle problematic turn-transfers they may encounter during their group-oral-assessment discussions. With the analysis unveiling co-participants encountered problematic turn-transfers mainly due to a lack of ability in managing their orientations successfully between their co-participants and assessment documents. This may be highlighted by the teachers and better oriented to via engaging learners in tightly time-restricted practice group discussions that focus on improving L2 learners' utilization of their embodiment, specifically their eye gaze to maintain the progression of a discussion while engaging with a topic-card document. Such practical exercises may act to develop the L2 learners' eye coordination between co-participants as well as their documents, while assisting L2 learners in increasing their interactional competence, a necessity in ensuring a fair distribution of talk amongst co-participants in assessed discussions.

Alternatively, the study also contributes to the field of teaching and learning via highlighting the important role of embodiment in facilitating next-speaker-selections, in which teachers may incorporate into their teaching of interactional competence skills. Moreover, with the study highlighting the interactional capabilities of low-proficiency L2 learners, it becomes essential that teachers better appreciate their low-proficiency learners' interactional abilities and exploit those capabilities through further group interactions, while also assisting learners in understanding how to tackle those interactional problems they may face in face-to-face interactions via exhibiting the interactional role of an enabler and how learners may adopt the role, after teachers have received their training. It is also important to stress that video-based classroom practices may

be incorporated to assist learners in reflecting upon their interactional work within the classroom group discussions so that they may enhance their turn management skills, while orienting to those displays of interactional work they performed successfully. Through utilizing video-based classroom practices, teachers can also provide L2 learners with an understanding of how co-participants attempt to provide or attain the floor and how a non-primary-speaker can provide support to co-participants struggling to make such speaker turn-transfers. Although co-participants in an institutional-based talk may not necessarily gain equal opportunities to the floor, having the knowledge in how an enabler provides co-participants with a platform to demonstrate their linguistic and interactional capabilities is educationally important as co-participants may employ that knowledge to better orient to their co-participants' needs or desires to gain primary-speakership, thus engaging in interactional work to facilitate a distribution of talk across co-participants.

8.5 Future Research Directions

With the current study revealing the interactional capabilities of low-proficiency L2 test-takers in performing complex multimodal IC work that assists other test-takers in gaining primary-speakership during group-oral-assessments, it was important to create rating descriptors that acknowledge the enabler's display of 'Good Citizenship' to credit the resources utilized in facilitating successful next-speaker-selections to other test-takers. However, with the suggested rating descriptors not being tested in real-time, future research may examine the practicality of implementing a 'Good Citizenship' rating descriptor within an oral assessment criteria and its effect on the test-takers' scores. Furthermore, future research can explore the extent of providing video-based training sessions on examiners' orientation to the enabler's interactional work in real-time, and how well can vide-based practice sessions increase L2 learners' interactional competence and encourage their engagement in enabling work that facilitates next-speaker-selections to co-participants requiring additional support.

On the other hand, with the increasing numbers of international L2 interactions between L2 speakers from diverse linguistic, cultural and educational backgrounds, including within internationalized universities in English-speaking countries, such as the UK (Andrade, 2006; Lillyman and Bennett, 2014; Taha and Cox, 2016) it becomes important to examine the face-to-

face interactions between international L2 speakers in varied contexts, including via internet-based video-conferencing technology conditions, both within the wild as well as within educational-based settings. With the recent technological advancements, there is a greater opportunity to employ online video-conferencing technology to conduct group-oral-assessments. Future research can compare between the interactional role of an enabler in face-to-face as well as in internet-based video-conferencing technology conditions, via examining whether such an interactional role would appear in video-conferencing conditions and to what extent would there be variance in how embodiment is implemented via a camera and a computer screen. Although similar language functions were witnessed to emerge upon test-takers engagement in interview tests in both face-to-face and video-conferencing conditions (Nakatsuhara *et al*., 2016), it is worth researching whether test-takers find it plausible to adopt the interactional identity of an enabler in internet-based video-conferencing technology conditions. Moreover, if test-takers do orient to such interactional identity in video-conferencing conditions, would the problematic turn-transfers arise to similar struggles as in face-to-face interactions and engage to assist co-participants struggling to (i) select another speaker, (ii) select him/herself for primary-speakership, and (iii) a thus-far quiet student who does not display recipiency to gain speakership. Such suggested future research is important to shed further light on the multimodal resources L2 users utilize in various contexts to progress with their discussions and manage their speaker-transitions. With the presence of widespread international interactions, these provide implications for further research to expand the small body of research employing CA to investigate international L2 interactions within naturally occurring conversations as well as within university-affiliated language institutes to provide additional means of support services for L2 learners of English.

8.6 Final Remarks

The current study has adopted a multimodal CA methodology to investigate the interactional practices that international L2 test-takers from diverse linguistic, cultural and educational backgrounds employ to collaboratively facilitate their next-speaker-selections during an L2 group-oral-assessment. The study draws on calls within the SLA field to expand the parameters of examining face-to-face L2 social interaction research in educational-based settings with a focus on exhibiting close considerations to the embodied resources L2 co-participants utilize to manage their next-speaker-selections (Firth and Wagner, 1997; Carroll, 2004; Olsher, 2004). To

summarize, the micro-analytic examination has revealed that when speaker-transitions become interactionally problematic for the low-proficiency L2 test-takers, one participant who is a non-primary-speaker will enact the interactional identity of an '*enabler*' to facilitate and assist a next-speaker-selection to another non-primary-speaker. The analysis demonstrated that an enabler's work is required (i) when one test-taker struggles to select another speaker, (ii) when a test-taker struggles to select him/herself for primary-speakership, and (iii) to select a thus-far quiet student who does not display recipiency.

With low-proficiency L2 test-takers successfully facilitating next-speakership-selections to co-participants via adopting the interactional identity of an enabler, they reveal an interactional competence in closely following and orienting to the presence of a turn-transfer problem from one co-participant to another and act to assist co-participants in gaining primary-speakership as a good citizen would execute within a group rather than seizing the moment to claim next-primary-speakership. Such interactional work deserves to be attended to by the examining body and to be accredited within future oral assessment criteria. The interactional unfolding of an enabler's work confirms that low-proficiency L2 learners are not "interactional dopes" (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 58), but interactionally competent second language users capable of orienting towards the institutional goal and facilitating their next-speaker-selections successfully.

Appendices

Appendix A: Mondada's (2014) CA Multimodal Conventions

Lorenza.Mondada@unibas.ch

Conventions for multimodal transcription

(initial version : 2001 ; current version : 3.0.1, 2014)

The French version is available under
http://icar.univ-lyon2.fr/projets/corinte/documents/convention_transcription_multimodale.pdf
The English version is available under
https://franz.unibas.ch/fileadmin/franz/user_upload/redaktion/Mondada_conv_multimodality.pdf

Multimodal conventions (short version)

Embodied actions are transcribed according to the following conventions developed by Lorenza Mondada (for a full version see https://franz.unibas.ch/fileadmin/franz/user_upload/redaktion/Mondada_conv_multimodality.pdf):

* *	Gestures and descriptions of embodied actions are delimited between
+ +	two identical symbols (one symbol per participant)
Δ Δ	and are synchronized with correspondent stretches of talk.
*--->	The action described continues across subsequent lines
---->*	until the same symbol is reached.
>>	The action described begins before the excerpt's beginning.
--->>	The action described continues after the excerpt's end.
.....	Action's preparation.
----	Action's apex is reached and maintained.
,,,,,	Action's retraction.
ric	Participant doing the embodied action is identified when (s)he is not the speaker.
fig	The exact moment at which a screen shot has been taken
#	is indicated with a specific sign showing its position within turn at talk.

Detailed description of the conventions with examples

1. Principles

These conventions are conceived to annotate all possibly relevant embodied actions, such as gesture, gaze, body posture, movements, etc. that happen simultaneously to talk or during moments of absence of talk.
The convention is based on two principles:
a) *Characterization of the temporal trajectory*: each embodied action is precisely temporally located within the course of the multimodal activity and it is delimited by two brackets – notating on the left its emergence and on the right its completion.
b) *Characterization of the embodied action*: each embodied action is shortly described.
The conventions are based on economy and consistency: by putting no more annotations than necessary, amd by choosing annotations that are interpretable univoquely.

2. Identification of the participants doing the embodied action

Every embodied movement is attributed to a participant, identified by his/her pseudonym and by a symbol consistently used for the same participant through the transcription.
(1) Example:

```
* delimits gestures done by LAU
⊥ delimits gestures done by PAL
Δ delimits gestures done by BRU
+ delimits gestures done by VIV
```

Sometimes, it might be relevant to create several lines for different embodied actions done by one participant at the same time. In this case, different symbols will be used – if possible by choosing similar symbols.
(2) Example:

```
* for gestures done by LAU
• for gaze by LAU
+ for gestures done by VIV
† for gaze by VIV
etc.
```

If the embodied action is done by the current speaker, then its description is *not* preceded by her/his identification in the margins; if it is done by another participant, (s)he will be identified in the margins. It might be useful to use capitals for the identification of the speaker and the normal style for the identification of the participant doing the embodied action.
(3) Example:

```
1  LAU     +*ah oui* je+ sais
   viv     +grasps pen+
```

3. Delimitation of the beginning and the end of an embodied action

Every embodied action has a temporal trajectory that is delimited by two identical symbols, one indicating when the action begins and the other one when it ends. These two symbols are inserted in the line of talk, in order to allow a synchronization of the verbal and the embodied conduct.
These two symbols are spatially aligned, one above the other, in order to represent their simultaneous unfolding.
The description of the action is inserted between these two symbols.
(4) Example:

```
1  BRU     la maison qui Δ se retrouve ici:,Δ
                         Δpoints to doc-----Δ
```

If an embodied action begins on a line and continues either the next line or some lines later, its description is followed by an arrow pointing to the direction of the next symbol/landmark that indicates its end. In this way, the arrow works as an instruction for the reader to search, in the following lines, for the next arrow pointing at the same symbol, closing that annotation.
(5) Example:

```
1  LAU     +*ah oui*
```

```
   viv     +points--->
2          (0.5)
3  VIV     mais alors+ i- il y va pour les dé- pour les sortir
                   -->+
```

If an embodied action begins in the middle of a pause, then the pause has to be segmented into smaller temporal fragments in order to insert the landmark.
(6) Example:

```
1  LAU     °ah oui°
2          (0.3)+(0.2)
   viv           +points--->
3  VIV     mais alors+ i- il y va pour les dé- pour les sortir
                  -->+
```

Note that if an embodied action is synchronized with(in) a pause, there is always an identification of the participant doing it in the margin.

In some cases, when the end of the embodied action is located several lines after its beginning, it is possible to help the reader to find when it ends by indicating the number of the line after the first arrow. Nonetheless, be careful in not over-using this type of indication: if it is used too much, it can blur the readability of the transcript by adding too many redundant indications.
(7) Example:

```
1  LAU     +°ah oui°
  viv      +points--->1.9
((transcription continues))
9  VIV     on garde une agnelle+ pour: cinq brebis euh
                              -->+
```

If an embodied action continues until the end of the except and afterwards, its description is followed by a *double arrow*. In this case, there will be no second landmark closing the temporal span of the gesture (and this is indicated by the double arrow):
(8) Example:

```
1  PAL     par rapport au cas de figure de:: (.) des causses, en général,
2          Δeuh cette attribution de: de terrain est bien moins claire.
   bru     Δlooks at PAL---->>
```

If an embodied action begins before the beginning of the excerpt, this is indicated by an *initial double arrow*, like in the example below:
(9) Example:

```
1  PAL     @par rapport au cas@ de figure de:: (.) des causses, en général,
           @>>points----------@
2          euh cette attribution de: de terrain est bien moins claire
```

If embodied actions of more than one participant are described, the first line is devoted to the speaker, and the following ones to the other co-participants:
(10) Example:

```
1  PAL     @par rapport +au Δcas@ de figure de:: (.) des +causses, en général,
           @>>points------------@
   bru                     Δlooks at VIV------>
   viv                 +points-------------------------+
2          euh cette attribution de: de terrainΔ est bien moins claire
   bru                                    ---->Δ
```

In case of overlaps, the annotations of embodied conducts are placed *after* the overlapped talk:
(11) Example:

```
1  LAU     °ah [+oui,+   *ici  c'est vrai.°
2  VIV         [+mais+ al*ors i- il y va p*our les dé-* pour les sortir
   lau                    *points----------------------*
   viv          +nods+
```

4. Trajectories of embodied actions

Embodied actions have a temporal trajectory, which can be roughly described by distinguishing a) a preparatory phase, b) a recognizable shape of the action, c) a retraction or withdrawal phase. Their annotation is inspired by conventions used by Kendon for gestures and Goodwin for gaze:

..... small dots indicate that the embodied action is emerging,
,,,,, commas indicate that the embodied action is withdrawing, retracting.

The embodied action itself is described when it has reached its recognizable shape, which can also be maintained for some time.
(12) Example:

```
1  VIV     sur des terres assez *euh ass- a:*:- assez *bonnes*
   lau                         *...........*points---*,,,,,,*
```

The description of action and its segmentation is an analytical decision, depending on the precision and the granularity of the transcription.
For example the following transcripts offer two contrasted versions: the first transcribes Jean's movements (his walk) more globally than the second (in which different steps are distinguished, showing the coordination between the steps and the organization of the progression of his talk):
(13a) Example (less granularity):

```
1  JEA     IL EST, *il est de bar*celo:ne, i ramène  Δle so[leil Δca]talan,
           HE IS,   he is  from Barcelona, he brings back the catalan sun,
                   *moves--------*
2  ELI                                                    [le soΔleil]
                                                           [the sun]
   eli                                                 Δpivots fwd-Δ
3  YAN     exacte[ment.]
           exact[ly.]
4  JEA           [la me]:r, le *bleu:, voilà.
                 [the seje:, the blue:, that's it.
                             *begins to walk slowly-->
5  ELI     mhm.
6          (0.3)
7  JEA     voilà. (.) c'est *tout.
           that's it. (.) that's all.
                       --->*walks away-->>
```

(13b) Example (more granularity):

```
1  JEA     IL EST, *il est* de bar*celo:ne, i ramène  Δle so[leil Δca]talan,
           HE IS,   he is  from Barcelona, he brings back the catalan sun,
```

```
                  *Lfoot-*Rfoot--*
2  ELI                                                    [le soΔleil]
                                                           [the sun]
   eli                                                 Δpivots fwd-Δ
3  YAN     exacte[ment.]
           exact[ly.]
4  JEA           [la me]:r, le *bleu:, voi*là.
                 [the seje:, the blue:, that's it.
                              *1 step fwd*1 more step-->
5  ELI     mhm.
6          (0.3)*
   jea       -->*1 step fwd----->
7  JEA     voilà. (.) c'est *tout.
           that's it. (.) that's all.
                        --->*walks away-->>
```

If a participant does different relevant embodied movements at the same time, they will be described in different lines:

(14) Example:

```
1  PAL  .hh ∠ c'est des ∠ c'est le le∇ schéma euh: ∇ordinaire, .hh
   lau      ∠looks at PAL∠
   lau                              ∇.............∇points----->>
```

5. Description of embodied actions

The description of embodied actions is not straightforward.
It is important to avoid physicalist descriptions (e.g. 'arm moves 45° down to the floor') as well as intentionalistic descriptions (e.g. 'wants to grasp the bottle')!
Some categories tend to standardize action (e.g. 'points', 'gazes'), some tend to be very general (e.g. 'gesticulates'), some can be very specific (e.g. 'points with the top of the pen'). This depends on the granularity of the analysis, as well as on the local relevancies governing the action.
Note that a CA transcription is very different than a standardized coding (the former favors 'emic' descriptions, the latter 'etic' categories).
(15) Example:

```
1  LAU    °ah [oui, *ici c'est +vrai.°*
2  VIV        [mais *alors i-il+ y va p*our+ les dé- pour les sortir
   lau           *points with a pen*
   viv                      +several big nods+
```

Although sometimes 'points' might be a good enough annotation, further expanded in the analytical text, in other cases 'points with his pen', 'points with open horizontal palm' etc. might be more accurate – as well as the description of what is pointed at ('points at the statue').

Another constraint for these annotations is their lenght: it is better to choose short descriptions, fitting within the transcript's spatialization, in a readable and intelligible way.
Sometimes annotations can be abbreviated. Different solutions are possible, as here below:
(16) Example:

```
1  LAU    °ah [oui, *ici c'est vrai.°*
2  VIV        [mais *alors i- il   y* va pour les dé- pour les sortir
   lau           *LH points w pen*
```

(17) Example:

```
1  LAU    °ah [oui, *ici c'est vrai.°*
2  VIV        [mais *alors i- il   y* va pour les dé- pour les sortir
   lau           *------1--------*
1: Left hand points with the upper part of the pen
```

6. Screen shots

Multimodal transcripts make use of text descriptions as well as images, which are integrated in the transcription.
It is very important to always specify the exact moment at which the image refers and to synchronize it with respect to the line of talk and of embodied conduct. This is done by

inserting a symbol (#) both on the line of the talk and on the line dedicated to the image (*fig* in the margins).

(18) Example:

```
1  GEO    alors, y a quand même u:ne autre chose à vérifier, c'est
2         que: ce: ces chambres-là n'ont que une issue de secours
3         (0.7)#
   fig         #fig.1
4  LUC    *non:, on# a on a*# touj- ah oui, (.) parce qu- (.) parce
          *..............*points--->>
   fig             #fig.2    #fig.3
```

figure 1 figure 2 figure 3

```
5         que là i bloquerait cette issue
6  GEO    ben oui.
```

Often, it is useful to insert several images one beside the other, one consecutive to the other, contrasted enough to show the trajectory of a movement, a gesture, or an embodied action (see figures 1-2-3 above).

In order to enhance the readibility of the images, it might be useful to add circles and arrows highlighting a relevant detail.

(19) Example:

```
1  BLA                                    [yeah %i mean,
                                             %turns back->
2          (0.3) % (1.9)
   bla        -->%extends her arm backwards-->
3  BLA     anne ram%beau# is [ehm the person who:
                -->%points back-->>
   fig                  #fig.1
```

1

7. Line numbering

The lines referring to talk and silences are numbered. They constitute the relative temporal metrics to which gesture and other embodied conducts are synchronized.
Note that this numbering is manually done – automatic numbering does not work.

(20) Example:

```
1  PAL     devient une unité annexe, (.) qui: sert au renouvellement.
2          *(0.5)
    la     *....-->
3  PAL     elles y restent jusqu'à toussaint au moment de la: lutte.
4  LAU     et *ç- ça, là. (.) y a une différence entre ça et ça?*
            ->*points-----------------------------------------*
5  PAL     non.
```

In order to enhance the readibility of the transcripts various types of font can be used. In the example below, bold is used for talk, italics for translation and grey for embodied conducts.

(21) Example:

```
1  PAL     ben suivant le cas euh: ben on tra- on est là
           well depending on the case ehm: well one wo- one uses
2          que pour le champ, ou bien on va sur le pâturage, .h
           only the field, or one goes on the pasture, .h
3          sur l'assembla:‡ge +sans parcours. .h +†je pen‡se que+†
           on assembled parcels without roads. .h I think that
            >>gazes at lau‡gazes at viv-------------------‡looks down->
   viv                        +...................+moves sheet+
                                                    †leans forward†
4          +dans le cas du gaec du pr+‡adou, .h c'est: ‡ tout l'un,
           in the case of the ((name of the farm)), .h it's either one,
                                  -->‡gazes at lau----‡gazes at viv->
   viv     +moves RH forwards--------+
5          tout l'autre.
           or the other.
6  VIV     +.hh oui. par‡ce que: i'm'sem+ble: eh i- ici c'était
           .hh yes. because: it seems to me: eh he- here it was ((cont.))
           +.............................+points-->>
   pal                -->‡gazes at the pointed at map-->
```

8. Note on the difference between multimodal transcript and description

Descriptions are often put between two double parentheses:

(22) Example:

```
1  PAL     une unité annexe, ((coughs)) qui: sert (.) uniquement,
2          et en continu, (0.3) à la génération de renouvellement.
```

This convention might be useful for some comments related to vocal conducts that are not transcribed – althogh its limitations have been pointed at (see Jefferson on transcribing laughter).

This convention is not useful for *transcribing* embodied conducts, because it is not temporally precise enough and it does not describe neither the boundaries nor the lenght of the embodied movement (see the principles above; see the contrast between the following two examples).

(23a) Example:

```
1  BRU     la maison qui se retrouve ici:,((points))
```

the house that is located here:

(23b) Example:

```
1  BRU     la maison qui Δ se retrouveΔ ici:,Δ
           the house that is located here:
                        Δpoints to docΔ,,,,,Δ
```

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Appendix B: Intended Learning Outcomes for the Speaking Skill per Proficiency Level –

Developed by One of INTO's University Partnership Institutes, UK.

	Level 3 (IELTS 4.0 – 4.5 or equivalent)	**Level 4 (IELTS 4.5 – 5.0 or equivalent)**	**Level 5 (IELTS 5.0 – 5.5 or equivalent)**	**Level 6 (IELTS 5.5 – 6.0 or equivalent)**	**Level 7 (IELTS 6.0 – 6.5 or equivalent)**	**Level 8 (IELTS 6.5 – 7.0 or equivalent)**
Speaking On completion of this module, students will be able to …	… interact and communicate at A2/B1 (pre-intermediate) level … exchange, check and confirm basic meaning in a routine conversation on familiar topics, although are likely to require some help with formulation.	… interact and communicate at B1 (intermediate) level … exchange, check and confirm meaning with some fluency in a conversation, which includes the most common words from academic word lists, although are likely to have difficulty engaging in debate.	… interact and communicate at B1/B2 (intermediate/upper-intermediate) level … exchange, check and confirm meaning communicate with reasonable fluency & appropriate detail in an extended conversation, which includes words from academic word lists.	… interact and communicate at B2 (upper-intermediate) level … use the features of spoken English to exchange, check and confirm meaning with a degree of fluency, some precision & appropriate detail and formality on academic topics. … account for and sustain their opinion.	… interact and communicate at B2/C1 (upper-intermediate /advanced) level … use the features of spoken English to exchange, check and confirm meaning fluently, with precision and appropriate detail and formality on academic topics. … argue a formal position convincingly.	… interact and communicate at C1 (advanced) level … use the features of spoken English to present and debate abstract, complex academic topics fluently, with precision, detail and formality. … respond to questions, comments and counter argument spontaneously and appropriately.

Appendix C: Participants' Information Sheet

School of Education, Communication and Language Sciences

Newcastle University

Group Oral Tests in Action: Multinational Interaction
In an English for Academic Study Group Oral Tests

Information Sheet for Participants

Researcher: Reem Al Abbas
PhD Student at Newcastle University, UK

Invitation

You are invited to participate in a research project. This research project aims to research the interaction and communication that takes place between international students enrolled in an English for academic study language course as they use the English language as a lingua franca during their group oral test. Before you make a decision about your participation, please take the time to read the information provided regarding the research. If you would like more information, or you find a point unclear, please do not hesitate to ask. Thank you for your time.

Why have I been chosen?

There are three reasons for choosing you to participate in this research. First, you are learning and using English for an academic purpose in a UK based university language institute. Second, you are an international student interacting with other international students from various linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Third, you will participate in a group oral test within your educational institution as part of an assessment requirement.

Do I have to participate in the research?

No, your participation is voluntary. If you are interested in taking part in the study, I will ask you to sign a consent form, and give you a copy of this form. However, if you feel you would like to withdraw from the study even after signing the consent form, you can do so and without giving any reason. Choosing to participate or not to participate will NOT affect your status within the institution or your marks.

What do I have to do if I participate?

You do not have to do anything, except to be yourself! Do your test as it is required of you by your institution and ignore the camera. Although the group oral test is already video recorded by your educational institution, I, as a researcher, will present an additional small size camera and an audio recorder. This is to obtain a more vivid recording of the interaction taking place between the participating members. Your consent to participating in the research will allow me as a researcher to obtain the recordings to use for research purposes. The recordings will reveal real life communication as it naturally unfolds within the group oral test. Various tactics will be used to maintain your anonymity. One method will be by NOT using your real name, giving you a pseudonym instead when referring to the data. In addition, your facial features will be camouflaged prior to presenting the data in any scholarly work. This will be through the use of an editing software, changing the video collected data to cartoon like to maintain your anonymity. Furthermore, if you mention something personal during the test, such as a personal story, details about your personal life, contact details, financial information, or anything else that could make you identifiable, then any such information will NOT be used.

What are possible disadvantages and risks of participating in the research?

There are no disadvantages or risks to participating in this research as you will be going about your normal examination without the presence of the researcher. As your academic institution has previously informed you, the test will be video recorded by INTO. As a result, little change will be made to the examination setting to install the small sized camera. In addition, your identity will not be disclosed in any scholarly work. Your facial features will also be camouflaged in the video prior to presenting the anonymized video segments or screenshots in any scholarly work.

What are possible benefits to participating in the research?

If you provide your email in the consent form, I will return to you with a summary report of the analysis. Results from the analysis may present you with greater insights into the types of interaction that take place between interlocutors. This awareness may broaden your perspective of how and why you and others communicate the way you do. You may also increase your understanding of the various interactional features that appear in a group test conversation.

Will my participation in the study be kept confidential?

The video and audio recorded files will be securely stored, and your identity will be kept confidential. I, as the researcher, am the only individual who will have access to the data. The collected data will be used as part of a PhD research project, and to feed into a report or training at INTO. When publishing the results of the study, your real name and any identifying information will NOT be included in the publication.

Additional confidentiality procedures will be taken:

1. Video and audio recordings will be transcribed by myself.
2. Video and audio recordings and transcriptions will be securely stored in the researcher's Newcastle remote application service and can only be accessed via a password. After the project has been completed, the recordings will be deleted from the researcher's university remote application system and will no longer exist.
3. Only anonymized video segments, screenshots and transcripts will be used when presented in scholarly work or to other researchers.

What do I have to do now?

Please take the time to think about the information presented on this sheet. If you have any questions, or would like further information, please feel free to ask me. If you decide to participate in the research, you will be given a consent form to sign. This form is to guarantee your privacy and your rights while participating in the research and it will NOT be used to identify you. If you decide to withdraw from the research after signing the consent form, you have the right to do so without the need to give a reason.

In case you require further information regarding the research after signing this consent form, please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisors.

Reem Al Abbas
PhD Student at School of ECLS
Email: r.h.t.al-abbas@newcastle.ac.uk
Mobile: 07578 910191

Dr. Christopher Leyland
School of ECLS
Email: chris.leyland@newcastle.ac.uk
Tele.: + 44 (0) 191 222 6000 (ext. 7384)
King George VI Building
Room 2.23 KGVI
Newcastle University
NE1 7RU
UK

Dr. Tony Young
School of ECLS
Email: tony.young@newcastle.ac.uk
Tele.: + 44 (0) 191 208 7515
King George VI Building
Room 2.10 KGVI
Newcastle University
NE1 7RU
UK

Thank you for taking the time to read this information.

Appendix D: Participants' Consent Form

School of Education, Communication and Language Sciences

Newcastle University

Participant's Consent Form

Project Title:

Group Oral Tests in Action: Multinational Interaction in an English for Academic Study Group Oral Tests

Declaration of Consent

I seek your permission to record you during a group oral test you will be taking for an English for academic study language course at INTO, as part of a research project. The material gathered for this research will be treated as confidential, securely stored and your name will not be used. The video and audio recordings will only be used for research purposes, in accordance with the confidentiality requirements at Newcastle University.

By signing the consent form, you agree to being video and audio recorded during the group oral tests taking place in an English for academic study language course at INTO, ******** University. You also agree to the video recordings of the group oral tests video recorded by INTO to be provided to the researcher to be used for research purposes.

Please tick the box where appropriate for each statement concerning the research.

	Statement	Yes	No
1.	I confirm that I have read and understood the information about the above mentioned research project as presented in the attached information sheet.	☐	☐
2.	I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the research project and my participating role in the research.	☐	☐
3.	I understand that my participation in the research is voluntary and I can withdraw at any time and without the need to give reasons.	☐	☐
4.	I voluntarily agree to be video and audio recorded in the group oral tests to take part in the above mentioned research project.	☐	☐
5.	I agree for the recordings made by INTO to be provided to the researcher. I also understand that the video and audio recordings will be securely stored, and only accessed by the researcher.	☐	☐
6.	Procedures regarding my confidentiality have been explained, (e.g. the use of names, pseudonyms, anonymization of data) to me.	☐	☐
7.	I understand that any data which discloses my identity will not be used in the research.	☐	☐
8.	I agree to the use of anonymized screenshots from the videos, and for the video and audio files to be reproduced for scholarly publications.	☐	☐
9.	I understand that the video recordings, audio recordings and transcripts of the recordings will be used for research purposes (e.g. at conferences) and for publications arising from the research in accordance with confidentiality requirements.	☐	☐
10.	I agree to the anonymized segments of the video files (in accordance with the conditions presented above) be shown to other researchers (e.g. conferences).	☐	☐
11.	I would like my facial features to be hidden during the use of anonymized segments or screenshots from the video files when presented to other researchers (e.g. conferences) in accordance with confidentiality requirements presented above.	☐	☐

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School of Education, Communication and Language Sciences

Newcastle University

I, the respondent, agree to these conditions:

Name of Participant	**Course name & Level**
Signature	**Date**
Email	**Nationality**

Gender ☐ Male ☐ Female

I, the researcher, agree to these conditions:

Reem Al Abbas		
Name of Researcher	**Signature**	**Date**

In case you require further information regarding the research after signing this consent form, please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisors.

Reem Al Abbas
PhD Student at School of ECLS
Email: r.h.t.al-abbas@newcastle.ac.uk
Mobile: 07578 910191

Dr. Christopher Leyland
School of ECLS
Email: chris.leyland@newcastle.ac.uk
Tele.: + 44 (0) 191 222 6000 (ext. 7384)
King George VI Building
Room 2.23 KGVI
Newcastle University
NE1 7RU
UK

Dr. Tony Young
School of ECLS
Email: tony.young@newcastle.ac.uk
Tele.: + 44 (0) 191 208 7515
King George VI Building
Room 2.10 KGVI
Newcastle University
NE1 7RU
UK

Appendix E: Group Testing Check List Provided to the Examiners

Group Testing Check List

Please check the following statements prior to the start of each group

	Statement	Yes	No
1.	Video camera is turned back on		
2.	Red recording light in camera is on		
3.	Audio recorder is turned on		
4.	Recording procedure for audio recorder has been followed		

Video Cameras

Zoom Camera

Power button (back)

Extended press until camera turns on

Record button (to front & bigger size than power button)

Light turns RED when recording

Zoom Camera – Please make sure microphones are positioned upward

Record button (Silver button – on outer right side of camera)

Light in front of camera turns RED when recording

Power button

Press until camera turns on

Panasonic Camera

Sony Camera

* Turn on power

* press record button (Ignore the Japanese)

* Don't worry, Screen will turn black while recording

Audio recorder

Record button

Power button (right side)

Extended press until audio recorder turns on

After a few seconds the screen will appear displaying its ready for recording.

* Press record button

Record button will flash red. Speak to recorder to adjust sound.

Press record button again to record (red light will stop flashing while recording).

Appendix F: Institutional Consent Form

School of Education, Communication and Language Sciences

Newcastle University

Institutional Consent Form

Project Title:

Group Oral Tests in Action: Multinational Interaction in an English for Academic Study Group Oral Tests

Declaration of Consent

I seek your permission to record international students enrolled in an English for academic study language course at INTO during their group oral tests as part of a research project. The video and audio recordings will be used for research purposes and to feed into a research report that INTO can make use of for training, based on conclusions obtained from the analysis. The material gathered for this research will be treated as confidential, securely stored and participants will be anonymized. All collected video recordings will be edited using a video editing software to camouflage facial features to maintain all participants' confidentiality in accordance with the confidentiality requirements at Newcastle University. The recordings will also be safely stored in the researcher's Newcastle remote application service and can only be accessed by the researcher via a password.

By signing the consent form, you agree to allow the researcher to video and audio record the group speaking tests taking place in an English for academic study language course at INTO, ******** University. You also agree to provide the researcher with video recorded files of the group oral tests recorded by INTO. You also agree for the video and audio recordings and the transcripts of the recordings be archived to be used for research purposes. You also agree to provide the researcher with a copy of the test material, if requested.

Please tick the box where appropriate

	Statement	Yes	No
1.	I confirm that I have read and understood the information about the above mentioned research project as presented in the attached information sheet.	☐	☐
2.	I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and discuss the research project.	☐	☐
3.	I understand that I can withdraw my consent to the use of the video and audio recordings at any time and without the need to give reasons.	☐	☐
4.	I agree to provide the researcher with video recorded files of the group oral tests recorded by INTO to be used for research purposes and for institutional development at INTO.	☐	☐
5.	I agree to the video and audio recording of the group oral tests. I also understand that the video and audio recordings will be securely stored, only accessed by the researcher.	☐	☐
6.	I understand that the data gathered from this research will be used for research purposes (e.g. at conferences, development workshops for INTO) in accordance with confidentiality requirements, and for publications arising from the research.	☐	☐
7.	I understand that any data which discloses the identity of the participants will not be used in the research. This includes avoiding the use of participants' real names when presenting data, giving them pseudonyms instead. In addition, facial features will be camouflaged in any scholarly work. This will be through the use of an editing software, changing the video collected data to cartoon like to maintain anonymity.	☐	☐
8.	I agree to provide the researcher with a copy of the test material if requested.	☐	☐

1

School of Education, Communication and Language Sciences

Newcastle University

I, the respondent, agree to these conditions:

_____	_____	_____	_____
Name of Respondent	Job Title	Signature	Date

I, the researcher, agree to these conditions:

Reem Al Abbas	_____	_____
Name of Researcher	Signature	Date

In case you require further information regarding the research after signing this consent form, please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisors.

Reem Al Abbas
PhD Student at School of ECLS
Email: r.h.t.al-abbas@newcastle.ac.uk
Mobile: 07578 910191

Dr. Christopher Leyland
School of ECLS
Email: chris.leyland@newcastle.ac.uk
Tele.: + 44 (0) 191 222 6000 (ext. 7384)
King George VI Building
Room 2.23 KGVI
Newcastle University
NE1 7RU
UK

Dr. Tony Young
School of ECLS
Email: tony.young@newcastle.ac.uk
Tele.: + 44 (0) 191 208 7515
King George VI Building
Room 2.10 KGVI
Newcastle University
NE1 7RU
UK

Appendix G: Gail Jefferson's CA Transcription Conventions

[ ]	Marks the beginning and end of overlapping or simultaneous utterances
=	Reveals contiguous or latching (intra/inter turn) utterances
(0.3)	Represents the length of a pause in tenths of a second
(.)	Represents a micro-pause, that is (one-tenths of a second or less)
::	Reveals a sound stretch (the more colons presented, the longer is the stretch)
?	Rising intonation. May be a question, but not necessarily
.	Falling of intonation
-	An abrupt or cut-off utterance
↑	High pitch
↓	Low pitch
<u>Word</u>	An underlined word is a stressed or emphasized word
LOUD	Capital letters indicate a loud or increased volume
°word°	Represents a soft talk
hhh	Audible outbreath (exhalation)
.hhh	Audible inbreath (inhalation)
> <	Utterance is faster than surrounding talk
< >	Utterance is slower than surrounding talk
(word)	Incorrectly pronounced by the speaker or transcriber is uncertain of utterance
$ $	A smiley voice

Adapted from Jefferson, G. (2004) 'Glossary of Transcript Symbols with an Introduction', in Lerner, G. H. (ed.) *Conversation Analysis: Studies from the First Generation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Appendix H: Speaking Assessment Criteria Adopted by a UK University-Affiliated Language-Institute

SPEAKING CRITERIA	TASK FULFILMENT & INTERACTION	GRAMMAR & VOCABULARY	FLUENCY, COHERENCE & PRONUNCIATION
SPEAKING CRITERIA >80 CEF C2 IELTS 8+	• Fulfils the task in every respect. • Contributions are consistently both highly appropriate & effective. • Justifies & fully elaborates on all points, where appropriate. • Manages all initiation & turn-taking naturally & extremely skilfully. • Does not dominate the discussion	• A wide range of grammatical structures with highly efficient use of complex sentences. • Use & choice of vocabulary is consistently appropriate to academic context, function & intention. • Virtually error free.	• Speaks naturally at length about the topic without any obvious effort or any strain on the listener. • Fully coherent & highly fluent speech. • Natural effective use of stress & intonation.
70-79 CEF C1 IELTS 7 -7.5	• Fulfils the task in almost every respect. • Contributions are consistently both appropriate effective. • Justifies & elaborates on points, where appropriate. • Manages all initiation & turn-taking very skilfully. • Rarely dominates the discussion. • Some very minor omissions or occasional opportunity missed to elaborate further on points although these do not affect sustained interaction.	• A very good range of grammatical structures with efficient use of complex sentences. • Use & choice of vocabulary is appropriate to academic context, function & intention. • Occasional minor errors may occur but do not impede communication.	• Can speak at length about the topic with very little strain on the listener. • Coherent & very fluent speech. • Shows generally appropriate & effective use of stress & intonation. • Coherence only rarely lost in complex sentences. • Minor errors in pronunciation rarely impede communication.
60-69 CEF B2.2 IELTS 6-6.5	• Fulfils the task for the most part. • Contributions are generally both appropriate & effective. • Justifies & elaborates on most points, where appropriate. • Manages initiation & turn-taking skilfully. • Occasionally dominates the discussion although shows awareness & appropriate strategies to rectify this. • Some minor omissions, irrelevancies or occasional opportunities missed to elaborate further on points-although these do not affect sustained interaction .	• A good range of grammatical structures with generally efficient use of complex sentences. • Use & choice of vocabulary is mainly appropriate to academic context, function & intention & adequate for discussing issues at length & making meaning clear. • Some minor errors in vocabulary & complex sentences occasionally occur; however, communication is rarely affected.	• Can speak at length about the topic with only occasional strain on the listener. • Coherent & fluent speech on most topics. • Stress & intonation generally convey meaning well. • Mispronunciation of individual words may occasionally cause strain for the listener. • Some occasional hesitation when dealing with complex sentences or unfamiliar topics.

Level 8

Level 7

Level 6

Level 5

SPEAKING CRITERIA			
50-59 CEF B1.2-2.1 IELTS 5-5.5	• Fulfils the task in part. • Most contributions are mainly appropriate & effective. • Some elaboration/justification of points. • Manages most initiation & turn-taking skilfully. • May have occasional difficulty when dealing with complex or unfamiliar topics. • Some omissions or irrelevancies. • May dominate the discussion or have some difficulty sustaining interaction.	• A moderate range of grammatical structures with some use of complex sentences. • Most use & choice of vocabulary is appropriate to academic context, function & intention & mostly adequate for discussing issues at length & making meaning clear. • Errors in simple sentences do not usually impede communication. • Frequent errors in vocabulary sometimes cause strain for the listener. • Errors made in complex sentences may affect communication. • May at times over rely on memorised chunks.	• Can speak about the topic but with occasional strain on the listener. • Generally coherent in general & familiar topics. • Problems with stress, rhythm & intonation rarely affect intelligibility. • Coherence occasionally lost, mainly when dealing with unfamiliar topics. • Some loss of fluency, unnatural delays or hesitation while organising thoughts/searching for language. • May need occasional prompting when dealing with complex sentences.

SPEAKING CRITERIA	TASK FULFILMENT & INTERACTION	GRAMMAR & VOCABULARY	FLUENCY, COHERENCE & PRONUNCIATION
SPEAKING CRITERIA 40-49 CEF A2.2-B1.1 IELTS 4.0-4.5	• Only partially addresses the task. • Mostly limited elaboration/justification of points. • Some general difficulties coping with initiation & turn-taking particularly when dealing with complex or unfamiliar topics • Contributions are occasionally limited or inappropriate. • May often dominate the discussion or have serious difficulty sustaining interaction. • Frequent omissions or irrelevancies.	• A limited range of grammatical structures: mostly simple & occasional compound sentences. • Vocabulary selection & use is generally sufficient to deal with a limited range of issues & ideas. • Frequent grammatical & vocabulary errors in simple & complex sentences. • Errors may regularly impede communication. • May often over rely on memorised chunks.	• Can speak about the topic but with some difficulty. • Mostly coherent in general & familiar topics. • Problems with stress, rhythm & intonation may regularly affect intelligibility. • Loss of coherence may cause regular strain for the listener. • Frequent loss of fluency, unnatural delays or hesitation while organising thoughts/searching for language. • May need frequent prompting.

Level 4

Level 3

SPEAKING CRITERIA 30-39 CEF A1.2-A2.1 IELTS 3.0-3.5	• An attempt is made to address the task, however, does not fulfil task requirements • Contributions are often limited or inappropriate. • Very limited elaboration/justification of points. • Frequent difficulties with initiation & turn-taking. • Rarely takes the initiative in an exchange & has difficulty coping with interaction. • Serious omissions or irrelevancies.	• Very limited range of structures: mostly repetitive simple sentences. • Breakdown in cohesion is frequent. • Vocabulary selection enough to deal with only simple information. • Vocabulary not adequate for the task. • Vocabulary & grammatical errors in most utterances. • Errors impede communication frequently.	• Can speak about the topic but with difficulty. • Problems with stress, rhythm & intonation frequently affect intelligibility. • Rarely coherent in general & familiar topics. • Lack of coherence causes frequent strain on the listener. • Unnatural hesitations & long pauses cause frequent breakdowns in communication/fluency.

Appendix I: Full Transcripts

Excerpt 2: Starting a Business - "and you?"
Participants: EMIr, TIM, MIA, LILy

```
      88  EMI:    ≈>there is NO:?< (0.2) (PENEFIT) (0.3) in SE:LF≈
                  ≈Gazes at LIL ----------------------------------------------≈
A →   89          .hh [EMPLOY  ]≈me∞nt#
      90  MIA:        [°self::°]
          emi                    ≈Gazes at LIL-->89.94
          lil                       ∞Lowers gaze -->89.96
          fig                          #1
      91  (0.2)
      92  MIA:    >°yea[h° ]<
      93  LIL:         [°uh]m° >°yeah°<
      94          #(0.5)≈(.)◊#(0.3)◊Δ(.)
B →       emi        -->≈
          mia              ◊Gazes up -◊
C1 →      mia                    ΔShifts head & gazes to LIL-->94.96
          fig     #2        #3
C2 →  95  MIA:    >°an∞d YOU?:°<#=
          lil      -->∞
          fig                #4
D →   96  LIL:    =>and< (.) I THINKΔ ↑THE: (.) bi-↑BIG ISSUE IS:=uha
          mia                  -->Δ
      97  LIL:    (.) MO:ney: (.) >you know?<
```

Fig. 1: EMI gazes at LIL, while LIL gazes down on topic card & nods.

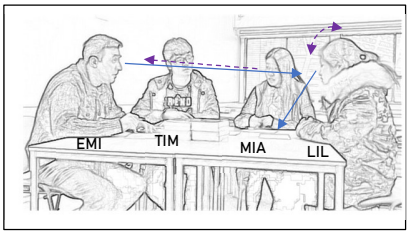


Fig. 2: EMI maintains gaze on LIL.

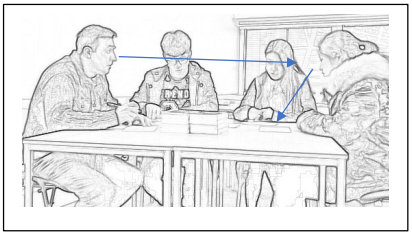


Fig. 3: MIA gazes up to LIL.

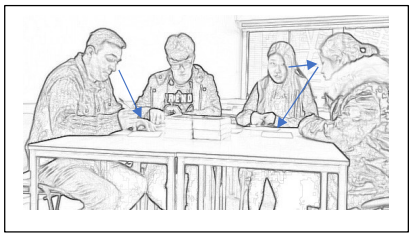
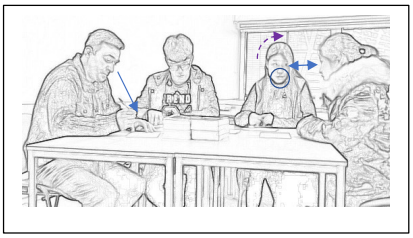


Fig.4: MIA shifts head to LIL & addresses her with "and you?". Both establish gaze.



£ for gestures done by EMI ≈ for gaze done by EMI	∂ for gestures done by LIL ∞ for gaze done by LIL
Δ for gestures done by MIA ◊ for gaze done by MIA	• for gestures done by TIM * for gaze done by TIM

Excerpt 3: Class Representative - "how about you"
Participants: SULtan, DAN, JIM, HANk

	66	**SUL:**	>he should know the< (.) °u-uh° LOTS OF STU:de:nt
	67	**JIM:**	o:h (.) Y[E::s]
	68	**SUL:**	[>°yes°<]
	69	(0.2)	
	70	**SUL:**	∂don'°t°=be shy
		dan	∂Shifts gaze forward, away from SUL-->70.76
A1 →	71	**SUL:**	◊°u?[m::°]
	72	**JIM:**	[°u$mf°]::[£°h$°]∞
A2 →	73	**SUL:**	[£°hm:]∞:°#£
		sul	◊Gazes at DAN-->>
		sul	£Gestures to DAN£
		jim	∞ Gazes at DAN-->>
		fig	#1
B →	74	(0.2)	
C →	75	**JIM:**	>≈how#=°about°≈ y[ou:<]
			≈Points to DAN ----≈
		fig	#2
D →	76	**DAN:**	[uha]¥::m (.) >mutah< (.) >°okay°< (.)
			¥Leans back & gazes down at topic card------->76.77
	77	**DAN:**	>I E::=I E:A:-<¥ ¢(0.2) ∂>i=think# there a:re< (.) >some:<
			-->¥
			¢Shifts body posture towards JIM-->>
			∂Gazes at JIM-->>
		fig	#3
	78	**DAN:**	(0.2) uha: (.) >BENEFIT<

Fig. 1: SUL gazes & gestures to DAN, while DAN gazes to his front.

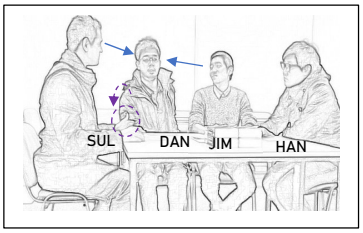


Fig. 2: JIM points to DAN & addresses him with "how about you?"

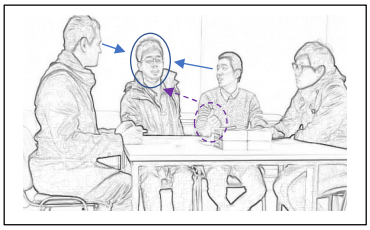
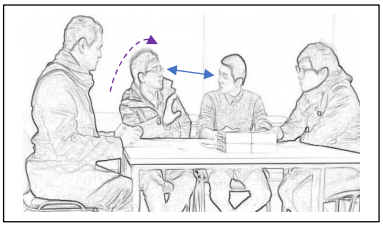


Fig. 3: DAN orients body posture & gaze to JIM.



Δ/£ for gestures done by SUL ◊ for gaze done by SUL	≈ for gestures done by JIM ∞ for gaze done by JIM
¥/¢ for gestures done by DAN ∂ for gaze done by DAN	• for gestures done by HAN * for gaze done by HAN

Excerpt 4: Volunteer Work – "maybe anything. Yeah"
Participants: AMR, JEMal, JOHn, KEVin

64 AMR: .hh eha: it's exactly with: #∂↑EVERYTHING∂ you:
kev ∂ Lifts arms from the ∂
table while gazing at AMR
fig #1
A1 → 65 AMR: can=say∂ f:- >for=her:-<∂# (.) >for=helping< the:: (.)
kev ∂.....∂Changes sitting posture---------->65.74
fig #2

Fig. 1: AMR & KEV establish gaze. KEV lifts arms off the table.

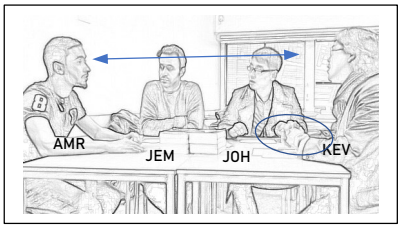


Fig. 2: AMR shifts gaze to JOH while KEV looks at AMR changes posture.

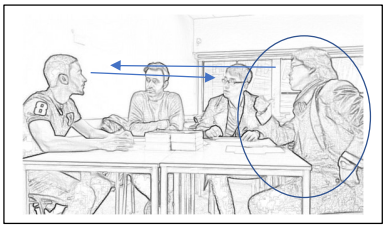
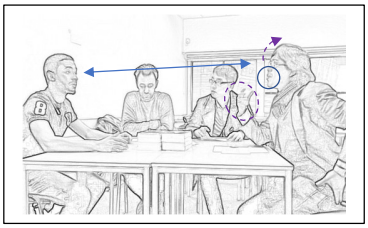


Fig. 3: KEV & AMR establish gaze. KEV gestures with hand & lip talks.



66 AMR: >SOC↑IE≈TIE:S[:< .h]hh≈ ∞>fo∂r helping< the:::#∂∞
67 KEV: [.hhh]
kev ≈Looks up from topic card ≈
to AMR
kev ∞Establishes eye gaze with AMR-------∞
A2 → kev ∂Circular hand gesture & lip talks-∂
fig #3
A3 → 68 KEV: ≈.hh >°um°<≈=
≈Nods --------≈
69 AMR: =∂na:tions∂ [the:] govern[m:en]t£# Δthe::£ ¥.hh=
70 JEM: [>°yeah°<]
71 JOH: [>YEAH<]
A4 → kev ∂Nods & touches chin∂
B → amr £Gazes at JOH£
C1 → jem ΔGazes at AMR & creates an open palm gesture in KEV's direction-->69.73
amr ¥Gazes at JEM-->69.73
fig #4
C2 → 72 JEM: =UHA#[:]Δ
73 AMR: [>MAY]Δ¥BE< >↑Y£ES:< (.) >MAYBE ≈the #STUDENTS<(.)
jem -->Δ
amr -->¥
amr £Gazes at KEV-->>
kev ≈Circular hand gesture & lip talks-->73.74

```
        fig          #5                                          #6
D → 74  AMR:     maybe≈∂ >any:≈thing< (.) >y↑EAh?<
        kev        -->≈
        kev         -->∂
        kev                    ≈Points with left index finger to topic card-->74.75
    75  KEV:     f::≈ >FROM=MY POIN'°of°=view:< (.) i=↑thin::k (.)
                 -->≈
```

Fig. 4: AMR gazes at JOH.

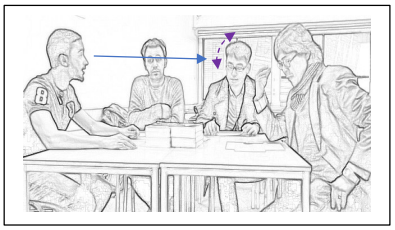


Fig. 5: JEM utters a non-lexical token & makes an open palm gesture in KEV's direction. This gains AMR's gaze.

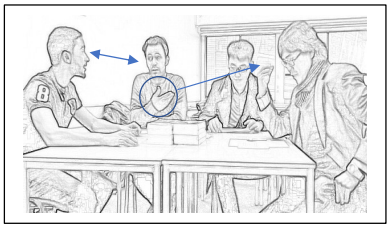
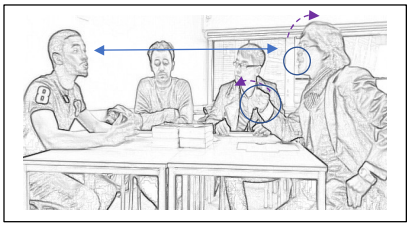


Fig. 6: AMR gazes back at KEV. KEV gestures & lip talks.



§for gestures done by AMR £/¥ for gaze done by AMR	≈/∂ for gestures done by KEV ∞ for gaze done by KEV
Δ for gestures done by JEM ◊ for gaze done by JEM	• for gestures done by JOH * for gaze done by JOH

Excerpt 5: Increased Tourism – "Oh, okay, Sorry"
Participants: TESs, EDI, ACE

	152	**EDI:**	to: uha (.) >maintenance the °the°< uha: >tourist PLace<
	153	**ACE:**	>yeah<
	154	**EDI:**	a[nd:]
A1→	155	**TES:**	[>but i<] >thin◊k<
		ace	◊Gazes at TES-->156.161
	156	**EDI:**	>+°uh hm°+<=
			+Nods to TES+
A2→	157	**TES:**	=>oh< (.) >okay< (.) <°so↓rrh::y:°>=
	158	**EDI:**	=°yeaΔ:h¢°=
B1→		ace	ΔMakes an outward fist then moves his hand & head sideways-->158.160
		tes	¢Gazes at ACE-->158.160
C→	159	**TES:**	=°an¢o[the+r∂: #]°> (.) UHΔA∂ >BENEFITS maybe<+
B2→	160	**ACE:**	[°ye+a∂h°#]
		tes	-->¢
		ace	-->Δ
		edi	+Nods as he leans back in his seat and gazes downward--------+
		tes	∂Gazes at ACE---------∂
		fig	#1.1/1.2
	161	**TES:**	.hh >many people can< (.) (OBSERB) (.) uha: (0.2)

Fig. 1.1: As ACE gestures EDI leans back & lowers gaze.

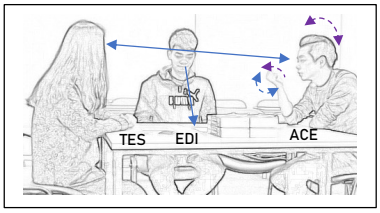
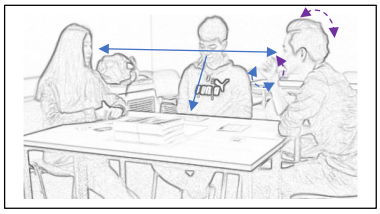


Fig. 1.2: As ACE gestures, ACE & TES establish gaze.



◊ for gaze done by ACE Δ for gestures done by ACE	≈ for gaze done by EDI + for gestures done by EDI
∂/¢ for gaze done by TES ∞ for gestures done by TES	

Excerpt 6: Increased Tourism – "UM"
Participants: HANi, KARen, NANcy, JABer

```
      46  NAN:    to buy something >to< (0.2) >(seeing)< your <friend>
      47            (.) so it=can: (0.2) (promit) ∂>ec≈on∂omi∞c≈:<#
                                                  ∂.............. ∂Establish gaze w/ HAN->47.50
                                                                  ∞Nods to HAN->47.51
          jab                                                ≈Gaze at HAN ≈
          fig                                                              #1
      48  (0.2)
A1 →  49  KAR:    >°y[eah um°<
      50  HAN:        [°yea:h°∂
          nan                 -->∂
      51  JAB:    yea:h∞
          nan           -->∞
      52            ≈(0.2)+(.)#≈
          jab       ≈Gaze at HAN---≈
          jab               +.....Open palm gesture-->52.53
          fig                  #2
A2 →  53  KAR:    U@M#@+::+=
                    @--@
B1 →      jab       -->+,,+
          fig        #3
      54  HAN:    =°a[+:nd°
B2 ┌→  55  JAB:        [+>yeah<
   └→     jab          +Leans to KAR & nods-->>
C →   56  KAR:    I THINK (.) it=also: can@.hh provide@ some (0.2)
                                              @Gazes at JAB ----@
      57          (open=more) opportunity to: the: >nation-< (.) (NA:TI:ES)
```

Fig. 1: NAN & HAN establish gaze & nod. JAB also gazes at HAN & nods.

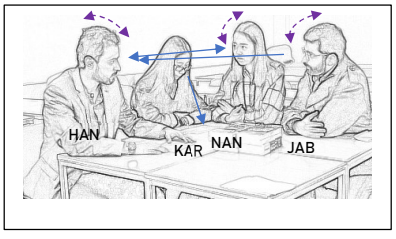


Fig. 2: JAB directs an open-palm gesture towards HAN.

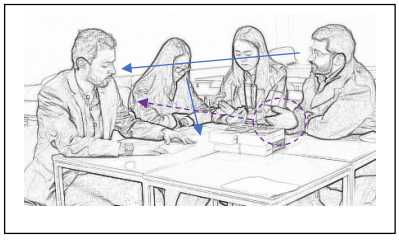
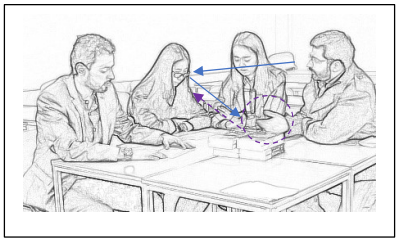


Fig. 3: JAB shifts open-palm gesture to KAR. KAR sees the hand gesture.



◊ for gaze done by HAN Δ for gestures done by HAN	∂ for gaze done by NAN ∞ for gestures done by NAN
@ for gaze done by KAR * for gestures done by KAR	≈ for gaze done by JAB + for gestures done by JAB

Excerpt 7: Volunteer Work – "So"
Participants: MAL, BEN, LEX

```
11   MAL:    e◊ha: (.) SO: GU:◊YS¥: (.) Δlet'∂s≈ talk=abou:t#
               ◊Gazes at both BEN & LEX◊
                                    ¥Gazes at topic card-->11.12
                                          ΔLeans torso towards topic card-->11.12
A1→      ben                                ∂Gazes at topic card-->11.12
         lex                                  ≈Gazes at topic card-->11.13
         fig                                                    #1
12   MAL:    (0.3) Δvolun∂∞teer WO:R∞∂k∂ (.) uha:::m¥ (.)
                 -->Δ
                                                  -->¥
         ben              -->∂
A2→      ben                 ∞Lifts head & nods∞
A3→      ben                                ∂Gazes at MAL∂
13   MAL:    >◊Do=you have ∂any# i◊de≈as∂:?<≈
               ◊Gazes at LEX ------------◊
A4→      ben                  ∂Gazes at MAL ----∂
         lex                                ≈Gazes to MAL & BEN≈
         fig                       #2
14   (0.2)
B →  15  LEX:    ≈#°S:o≈::°
                 ≈Gazes at BEN≈
         fig      #3
16   (0.2)
C →  17  BEN:    um: (.) i=>°think°< (.) >↑volunteer work is=uha<
18               (.) to: >HELP< .hh °uha° some ↑people: (.)
```

Fig.1: MAL gazes at her topic card & BEN and LEX follow suit.

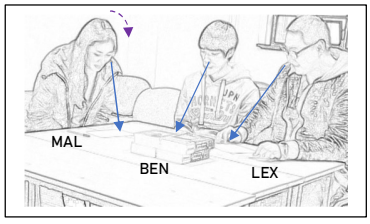


Fig.2: While MAL gazes at LEX as she is addressing her question, BEN gazes at MAL.

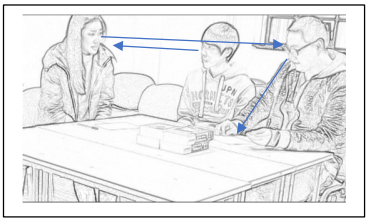
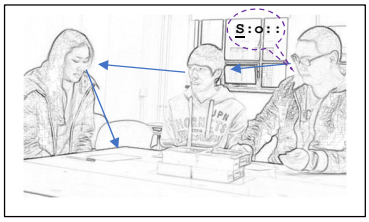


Fig.3: LEX gazes at BEN and produces a stand-alone 'so'.



◊/¥ for gaze done by MAL Δ for gestures done by MAL	∂ for gaze done by BEN ∞ for gestures done by BEN
≈ for gaze done by LEX + for gestures done by LEX	

Excerpt 8: Increased Tourism – "Yeah" "Go"

Participants: HANi, KARen, NANcy, JABer

```
     113 KAR:    >because when< (0.2) uha: (.) <tourism> (0.3) come mo:re
A1→  114         (.) than before and=uha .hhh ∞ua: ∞≈it# (.) speci-∞≈ (.)
          nan                                  ∞.....∞Caresses her hair-------∞
          jab                                      ≈Gazes at NAN's gesture--≈
          fig                                        #1
     115 KAR:    uha <especial> like=in the: ↑HOLI<day>
A2→  116         ∂(0.3)∂
          nan    ∂Gazes at KAR∂
     117 JAB:    <yea≈h>
                      ≈Shifts gaze to NAN-->117.119
     118 KAR:    >the-<=
B1→  119 JAB:    =>°∂y+ou:°<#=
          nan        ∂Establishes gaze with JAB & nods -->119.120
          jab          +Gestures and nods to NAN-->119.120
          fig                #2
C1→  120 KAR:    =>°then° we∂ will be+ have=uha< ∞.hhh <∞very# stressful:∞>
          nan             -->∂
          jab                    -->+
          nan                                ∞.....∞ Strokes her hair --------∞
          fig                                  #3
C2→  121 KAR:    ∞(.) ∞TRANSP#orts
          nan    ∞.....∞Places her fingers on topic card-->121.124
          fig              #4
     122 (0.4)
     123 NAN:    >°yeah°<
B2→  124 JAB:    +>°g#o°<+
                 +Points ---+
          fig        #5
C3→  125 NAN:    >°and°< (.) >i think it was< uha:: (0.3) number of the:∞
                                                                  -->∞
     126         (.) tourism: (.) increased:
```

Fig. 1: JAB gazes at NAN as she caresses her hair.

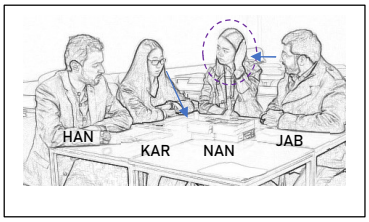


Fig.2: JAB points to NAN with his left index finger as they establish gaze and nod.

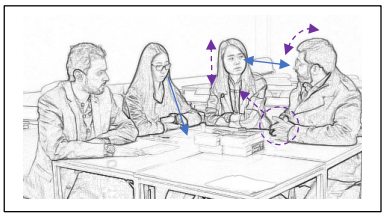


Fig.3: JAB gazes at NAN as she strokes her hair.

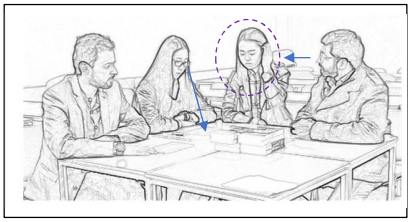


Fig.4: JAB notices NAN placing her fingers on her topic card.

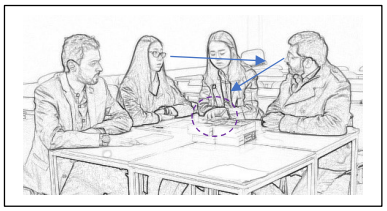
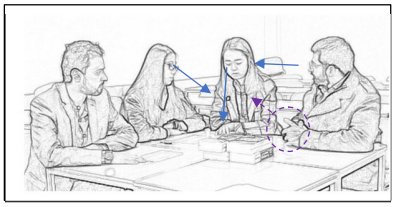


Fig.5: JAB gazes at NAN as he points with his index finger and says ‘Go’.



◊ for gaze done by HAN Δ for gestures done by HAN	∂ for gaze done by NAN ∞ for gestures done by NAN
@ for gaze done by KAR * for gestures done by KAR	≈ for gaze done by JAB + for gestures done by JAB

Excerpt 9: Starting a Business – "I agree with you" "What' about?"
Participants: SAMi, MINa and ELY

A1 →	79	**MIN:**	money is very <important:=uha> .hhh <if=you::>=
A1 →	80		=<want to °uha°> (.) <have a new busi[ness:]>
	81	**SAM:**	[ye:s]
	82		(0.2) >°of° course<
→	83	**MIN:**	>yeah<
	84		(0.2)
	85	**MIN:**	>◊how#< mo◊ney=i:n: (.) .hh i- >if=you<
		sam	◊Gaze at ELY -◊
A2		fig	#1
	86	**MIN:**	(DON'Ta)=HA:VE uha ENOUGH <MO:NEY:>
	87		.hhh uha (.) (starting) a=n- new:
	88		business may (.) be (.) <mee-tin:g:>
→	89		(.) >some< (diffi <°cul:-°> tc:y::)
B →	90	**SAM:**	YES (.) I=agree wi◊th yo[u:
	91	**MIN:**	[>°yeah°<=
		sam	◊Gazes at ELY-->>
C →	92	**SAM:**	=what #Δabou:t?Δ
			ΔHand gestureΔ
		fig	#2

Fig. 1: SAM gazes at ELY.

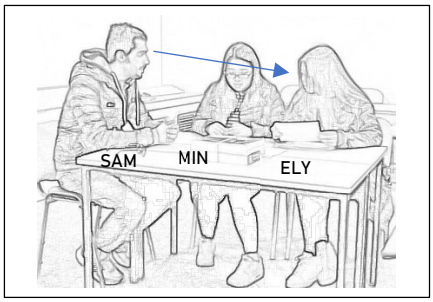
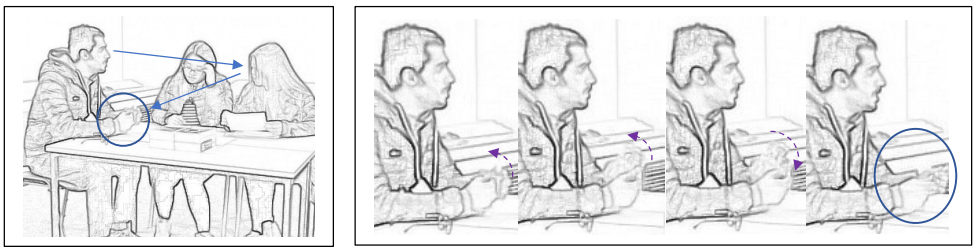
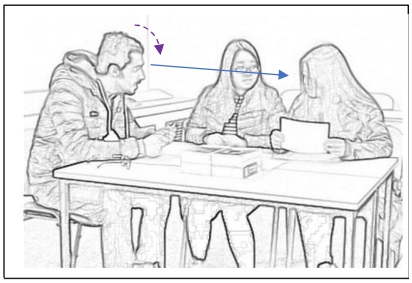


Fig. 2: SAM moves his LH in a half-circular motion around the right hand as he says "about". ELY sees the gesture.



	93		(0.2)
D →	94	**ELY:**	>°yea:h°< (.) ◊°and° i °thiΔnk°# (0.4) the: (0.3)Δ
		sam	Δ Leans head forward towards ELY --Δ
		fig	#3
	95	**ELY:**	Δ<BEFOre:> (0.4) <°start aΔ business°> (.) h- (.)
		sam	ΔProduces four consecutive nods to ELY ---Δ
	96		before the (>half yea:r<)
	97	**SAM:**	°uhm:°
	98		(2.0)
	99	**ELY:**	≈>maybe:≈< °uha:°
			≈.....≈Shifts gaze to topic card-->101.102
	100		(3.5)≈(0.2)
		ely	-->≈
E1 →	101	**SAM:**	>°yeah y[eah°]<
	102	**MIN:**	[>may]be-?<

Fig. 3: SAM leans his head towards ELY.



	103	**ELY:**	∆the money: is (0.2) [(all)]∆ [(°have°)]
E2 →	104	**SAM:**	[yeah]
		sam	∆Five consecutive minimal nods to ELY ------∆
	105	**MIN:**	[YEAH]
	106	**ELY:**	so:=
E3 →	107	**SAM:**	=yeah=
	108	**ELY:**	=(>°should=[have it°<)

◊ for gaze done by SAM ∆ for gestures done by SAM	≈ for gaze done by ELY + for gestures done by ELY

Excerpt 10: Class Representative - "the reaction from this lady"
Participants: HATim, JESy, MAJid, and BOB

	71	**BOB:**	maybe: (.) >maybe I- I think< that in the- in the schoo:l	
	72		uha: or >as a< (.) o:r (.) uha (.) a different >CLASS<=	
⟝	73	**JES:**	=∞.hhh# >bu:t<∞ [someti:]mes °i:n class° <°the:°>	
	74	**BOB:**	[>yeah<]	
		jes	∞Extends LH to MAJ∞	
		fig	#1	
A1	75	**JES:**	=°teacher::° have (.) >°maybe a good time to teach some-°<	
	76		<so:mething> i:n the class but we don't have >a lot of<	
	77		>ti:me< to discu:ss it >and like you say before this< (.)	
	78		may- uha >maybe we have some pe-< (.) >some person< or	
	79		>some problem comes our way< (.) can <talk> and uha (.)	
⟞	80		make something and (.) >and i< [↑think]=uha (.)	
B1 →	81	**MAJ:**	[>YEAH<]	
A2 →	82	**JES:**	um: (.) ∆um:: >wh[en everything]< >°is°<∆ [>in: class<]=	
B2 →	83	**MAJ:**	[>Yeah<] [>YE:S YE:S<]	
		maj	∆Produces minimal nods to JES ----------∆	
A3 →	84	**JES:**	=>sa[me cl◊a]ss<=	
B3 →	85	**MAJ:**	[>YEA◊H<]	
C1 →		maj	◊Gazes at HAT-->>	
A4 →	86	**JES:**	=>°and[∆uha]°<	
⟝	87	**MAJ:**	>[∆AND] WHAT DO YOU THINK Eha about< EHA:::: (.) the	
		maj	∆Elevates arm & makes semi-open palm gesture while pointing thumb at JES-->87.89	
C2	88	**MAJ:**	#RE↑ACTION from=Uha:: (.) eha::: (0.2) ehe:: (.) this	
		fig	#2	
⟞	89	**MAJ:**	ehe: uha: eha:: >la∆dy<	
			-->∆	
A5 →	90	**JES:**	∞HE::A-∞ ∂(0.2) °u∂hm°#	
			∞Extends arm∞	
			∂Shifts head to HAT∂	
		fig	#3	
D →	91	**HAT:**	UHA:: >o¢kay i ¥thin:k< (0.2)¥ <she:'s: ri::ght> (.)	
			¢Gazes at topic card-->>	
			¥Shifts topic card to himself¥	
	92		°but° (.) °i°=h:ave one POINT about [thiS]∆:: (.)	
E →	93	**MAJ:**	[yeah]∆	
		maj	∆Leans towards HAT-->>	
	94	**HAT:**	abou:t >in cla:ss< or outside of cla:ss .hhh	

Fig. 1: JES extends her left hand towards MAJ.

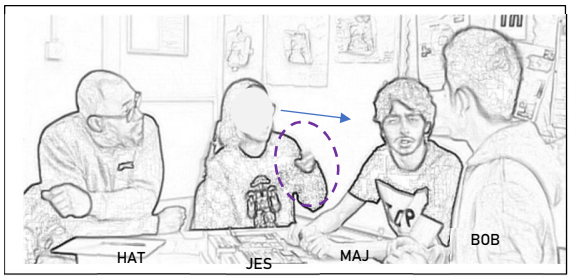


Fig. 2: MAJ elevates arm & makes semi-open palm gesture to HAT.

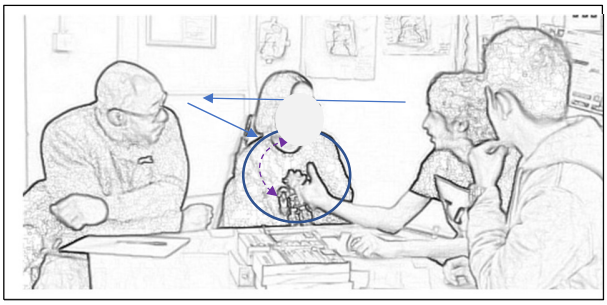
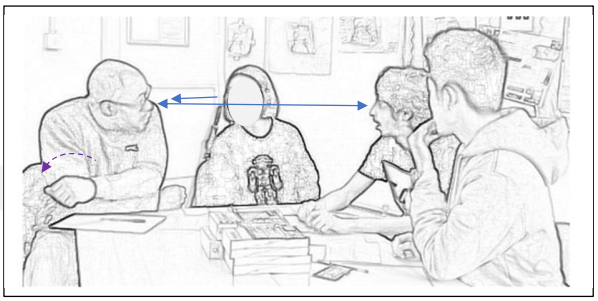


Fig. 3: JES shifts head position towards HAT while MAJ & HAT establish gaze.

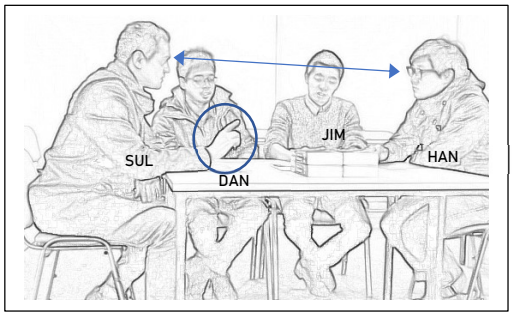


◊ for gaze done by MAJ Δ for gestures done by MAJ	∂ for gaze done by JES ∞ for gestures done by JES
¢ for gaze done by HAT ¥ for gestures done by HAT	

Excerpt 11: Class Representative - "Unsuitable"
Participants: SULtan, DAN, JIM, and HANk

```
A  81  DAN:   a course >that< (.) >that< (.) >that=uha< (.) >that< (.)
   82         that he::? (0.4) (<impoficate>) >°yeah°<
   83  JIM:   °u:°m[:::                ]
   84  DAN:         [>(that unsuiter)<] (.) the: <°unsuita-ble°>
   85  JIM:   unsuta?
   86  DAN:   >UNSUITABLE<
   87  JIM:   unsui[table
B  88  SUL:         [>°unsui◊table°<◊=
                        ◊Shifts head –◊
                        position to HAN & both establish gaze.
   89  JIM:   =OH YEAH ye[∆#a:h    ]
C  90  SUL:             [∆#°yes°∆] [>°what about°<] [you:    ]
   [>°yeah°<]
   91  JIM:                        [°unsuitable°  ] [>about  ] [you:°<
   92  HAN:                                        [¥AND=UHA] [I-=
       sul                 ∆Nods to HAN-
                           & points at him∆
       han                                          ¥Shifts body forward--
   >92.93
       fig                  #1
D  93  HAN:   =<I THINK¥ in=IN THIS WO:RK have a ↑lo:t of powe:r>
                    -->¥
```

Fig. 1: SUL nods while pointing his right index finger at HAN.



∆ for gestures done by SUL ◊ for gaze done by SUL	¥ for gestures done by HAN ∂ for gaze done by HAN

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